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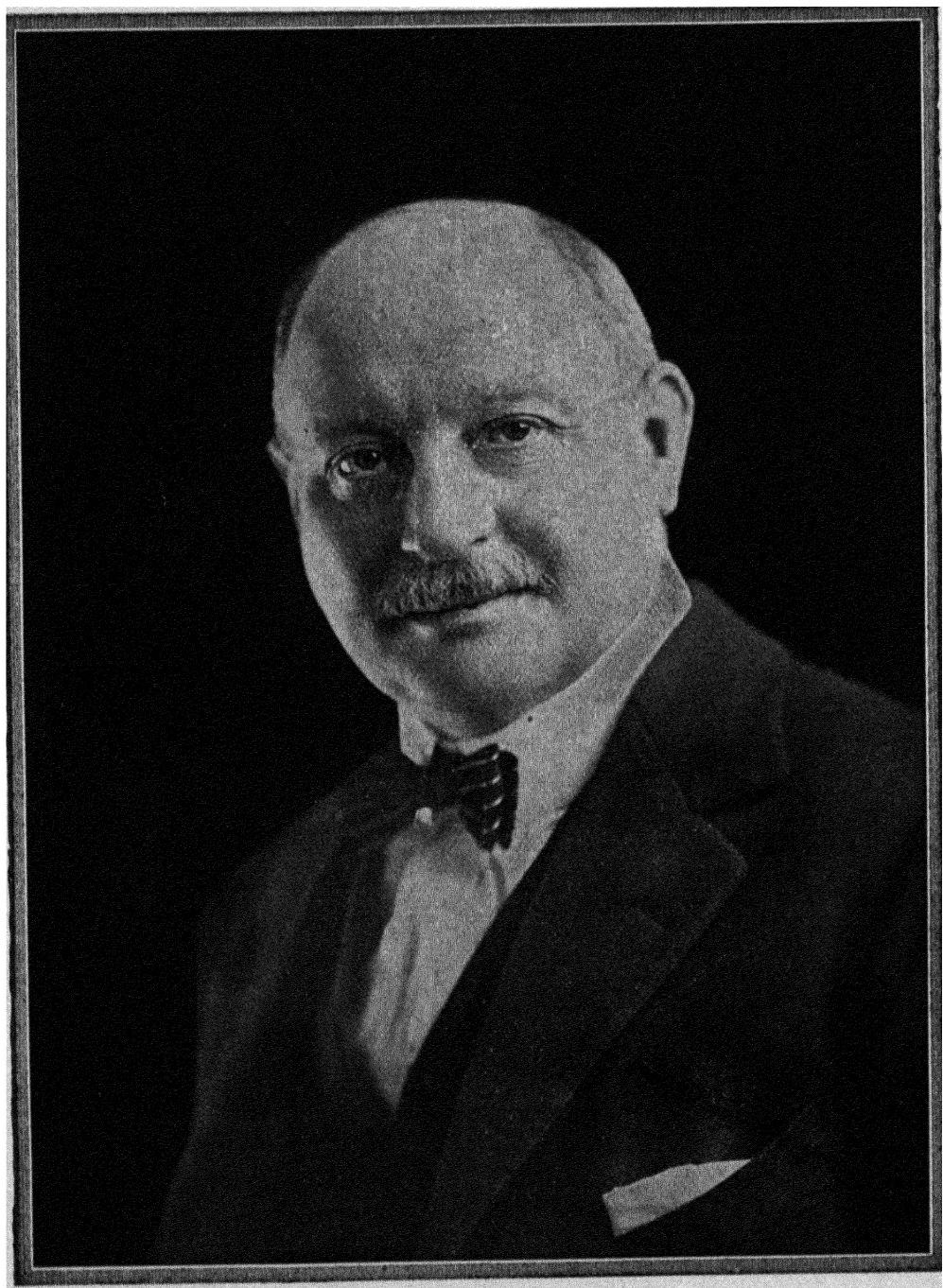
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Harold V. Barker

SPEECHES

SPEECHES

MADE BY HIS EXCELLENCY

SIR HARCOURT BUTLER, K.C.S.I., C.I.E.

Governor of the United Provinces

PUBLISHED BY KIND PERMISSION

BY

S. C. SEN



ALLAHABAD
THE PIONEER PRESS

1921

FOREWORD.

This publication is the outcome of suggestions made by two of my friends, Raja Sripal Singh, Taluqdar of Tikra Estate, Sitapur District, and Mr. S. M. Bose, of Allahabad, who more than once said to me that Sir Harcourt Butler's speeches should be collected and published in book form and be placed in the hands of every Taluqdar and Zamindar and every official and public man in the United Provinces. The educative value of these speeches is indisputable. They cover a wide field dealing with political, educational and administrative problems. They are instinct with a deep sympathy for popular aspirations and a robust optimism that is somewhat rare in these days. They give a special impetus to progress on rational as well as national lines. They are vigorous and scholarly, with a distinct literary charm.

S. C. SEN.

Allahabad.

Sir Spencer Harcourt Butler, K.C.S.I., C.I.E., present Governor of the United Provinces, comes of a stock well-known in the Educational world. His grandfather, Dr. George Butler, who was Senior Wrangler and Smith's prizeman, and his uncle Dr. Montagu Butler, a Master of Trinity, who was Senior Classic in his day, between them were Head-masters of Harrow for a period of 50 years. Sir Harcourt was born on 1st August 1869, and is the second son of the late Mr. Spencer Percival Butler, who also had a distinguished University career, taking a double First in Classics and Mathematics, and who was a very distinguished conveyancer.

He was educated at Harrow and Balliol College. He married in 1894 the daughter of Mr. F. Nelson Wright and has one son. He came out to the United Provinces in November 1890, and was posted to Allahabad as Assistant Magistrate and Collector. After a year and a half he was selected for Secretariat work, and since then his career has been extraordinarily varied. He served as Assistant Collector and Magistrate, Junior Secretary, Board of Revenue. For seven years he was Settlement Officer; he was then Secretary to Sir Antony MacDonnell's Famine Commission, the report of which is a Classic. He was Judicial Secretary to Government in 1903. In 1906 he became Deputy Commissioner of Lucknow, and in two years he had completely reformed the administration and started a series of local improvements, which has made Lucknow one of the most up-to-date places in India. In 1908 he was appointed Secretary in the Foreign Department, which he thoroughly reorganised. In 1910 he was appointed as a Member of the Governor-General's Council with the portfolio of Education after nearly completing 20 years' service only. In 1915 he became Lieutenant-Governor of Burma which appointment he held till 1917. He then again came back to the United Provinces as Lieutenant-Governor and in 1921 was made the 1st Governor of these provinces. In 1901 he got the title of C.I.E., and in 1909 the C.S.I., and in 1911 the K.C.S.I.

Proceedings of the Conference held in Lucknow on the 10th November, 1919, regarding the establishment of a University at Lucknow.

MR. VICE-CHANCELLOR, LADIES, AND GENTLEMEN,

I am very glad to meet you here this morning. I do not think it would have been possible to assemble a more representative and influential committee. The various interests concerned are fully represented, and I have been able to secure the friendly assistance of several gentlemen who, though not connected with Lucknow, are prominently connected with the Allahabad University and fully conversant with its working. As I have indicated in my note, Lucknow is being dealt with first for obvious reasons. For some time back it has been realized that Lucknow requires a modern, up-to-date University of a teaching and residential kind, such as has been recommended by the great Commission on the London University presided over by Lord Haldane, and more recently by Sir Michael Sadler's Commission in connection with Dacca. America, after experimenting with every kind of University for half a century, has now concentrated on the unitary centralized University which alone meets "civic needs." Local patriotism demands a University. The Lucknow Improvement Committee have provided a fine site for the University, worthy of a historic capital town. A teaching and residential University can be treated in Lucknow without disturbing the existing organization or mechanism of the Allahabad University. The quality of newness or change is always rather terrifying to conservative India and some criticisms have already been made. It is said that the creation of a new University at Lucknow will take time. True, but we need not be deterred by this. Let us see that the time is as short as possible. We must not wait. Rather we must speed up. Apparently we are on the verge of an industrial boom, quite outside Government control, which is going to sweep us off our feet. Never was there greater urgency for educational reform. Think of the time that has been wasted hitherto. Eleven years ago Sir John Hewett appointed a committee on industrial development. As Secretary of that committee I drew up a note on technical

education, which was the basis of discussion, which was published at the time, and which has frequently been quoted. The crown of that note and the crowning resolution of the committee was that a technological institution should be established at Cawnpore. Everyone agreed that this was desirable, but nothing was done. I have at last, after eleven years, succeeded in obtaining a distinguished chemist, Dr. Watson, who will shortly take up the proposal where it was left eleven years ago. Consider, gentlemen, for a moment, what might have been done if we had had several chemists working on industrial problems in Cawnpore for the last ten years. To those who plead for delay I say—Remember the Cawnpore Technological Institute.

Then it is said that vested interests will be interfered with, that the individuality of existing institutions will be destroyed. There is certainly no desire on the part of Government to belittle the excellent work that has been done in the past by existing institutions. They have done their work right well, and it is hoped that it will be possible to preserve their individuality and that the present staff of those institutions will assist to inaugurate the new developments. I may also say at once that Government fully realizes that financial interests must be generously considered. But we must not be too late.

Gentlemen, the Sadler Commission's report gives us cause to think. There are parts of the report which are not applicable to the United Provinces. There are proposals in the report which would not be acceptable here. But the report gives us a big view of the unity of the educational problem. It emphasizes how the Educational Commission of 1884, owing to the terms of its reference which excluded University education from its consideration and thus prevented it from viewing education as whole, was able to propose only a partial solution of the problems with which it was confronted. It also emphasizes how the University Commission of 1901 was similarly incomplete, because it was excluded from the review of most questions of secondary education and especially of secondary English education. In this province we have been for some years groping to the better separation of the school and the University courses. We have started intermediate classes in certain schools and we contemplate starting them in other schools. Now the Sadler Commission, after a careful review of the problems of education in Bengal, have come out with the

proposition that the intermediate classes should be removed from the University and that intermediate colleges or intermediate sections of high schools should be established. Thus the intermediate is, on their recommendation, in future to be the dividing line between on the one hand general education, which is necessary for the ordinary careers in life including practical and professional training, and on the other hand higher studies which are the suitable subjects of University courses. I think that this is a great illuminating proposition, and I venture to hold that a great deal of effort in education has failed hitherto because we have not clearly distinguished between University and pre-University studies and because we have not treated the educational problem as one and indivisible. The proposal lies at the root of educational reform. When we have thought out the lines on which a University can be carved out at Lucknow, I shall, as already stated, appoint a Commission, with the Vice-Chancellor as President, to consider how best the Allahabad University can be divided into parts : the one being a local, teaching, and residential University, the other being an affiliating University.

I have been asked by several members of the committee to conclude the discussion on the general principles as soon as possible in order that they may return to their avocations. I shall therefore sit both morning and afternoon, and I hope that we shall very soon get to a common understanding on the main questions. You have seen my note and the note of the Director of Public Instruction. Before we proceed further I would ask the Director to explain in rather greater detail some of the main features of the scheme which he has drawn up as the basis of discussion. I have also obtained from him a list of draft resolutions which cover the ground of the enquiry. This is in your hands. We will commence with some general discussion and then take up these draft resolutions, one by one, and discuss them. In this way we shall best get to grips with definite practical proposals. We shall then appoint sub-committees who will work out details and advise when a new University can be called into being. With these few remarks, ladies and gentlemen, I once more thank you for having joined myself and the Government in this very important enquiry.

*'Address by the Hon'ble Sir Harcourt Butler, K.C.S.I., C.I.E.,
Lieutenant-Governor of the United Provinces, at the Convocation
of the Allahabad University held on the 25th January, 1919.*

MR. VICE-CHANCELLOR AND GENTLEMEN,

I ask you to stand while on behalf of the University I express our humble loyal sympathy with Their Royal and Imperial Majesties and the Royal Family in their sorrowful bereavement. I will convey our sympathy to His Excellency the Viceroy and ask him to transmit it home.

I deem it a signal honour to preside at convocation of the University. When I first came to Allahabad in 1890, the University was just three years old. I remember the thoughtful inaugural address to Sir Alfred Lyall who gave us our motto, shaped our constitution, and realized a great measure of what he called "autonomy in education" or "provincial self-government in the sphere of education." I promise you that I will do all I can to serve our University while I am Chancellor.

My first duty is to thank our late Vice-Chancellor, Dr. Sir Pramoda Charan Banerji, for the ability, tact and dignity with which he has presided over the deliberations and executive action of the University. I know that he undertook his heavy responsibility out of sheer public spirit. In welcoming Mr. Justice Piggott I need only say that we all admire his ability, enthusiasm and eloquence and his active sympathy with the rising generation.

The degrees which I have just had the honour to confer on Dr. Banerji and Dr. Ward are a fitting recognition on their high services to the study of law and of science. Dr. Ward is a veteran in education and commands the confidence of officials and non-officials, alike for his great abilities no less than for his sterling independence and devotion to his calling.

During the last year the University has sustained grievous loss in the death of five great men, my tried and close personal friends, Dr. Hill, Dr. Sir Sundar Lal, Dr. Venis, Professor Homersham Cox and Professor Gardener Brown.

They all gave of their best to the University and their best was very good.

Dr. Hill was a chemist of rare distinction and a principal and professor of high character and influence. Recent progress in science teaching is largely due to his initiative and example. I have paid more than one tribute to Sir Sundar Lal and to his long, honourable and beneficent connection with this University. He was the first non-official Indian to be Vice-Chancellor of any Indian University. It is, I feel, one of the meritorious acts of my official life that I suggested his name to my old chief, the then Chancellor, Sir James La Touche. Dr. Venis was principal of the Government Sanskrit College at Benares for thirty years and for seventeen years also he was principal of the Queen's College. He was one of the oldest members of the University, a fine scholar with a highly critical and cultivated mind, steeped in philosophy. No European has ever perhaps attained such knowledge of the traditional learning of Sanskrit. He was both a pupil and teacher of Pandits, living in close intimacy with renowned Pandits of the old school. An eminent Russian scholar once told me that Dr. Venis had forgotten more than any savant in Europe had learnt. He will be remembered as a teacher rather than as a scholar, because he has left little printed work behind him. But he did more than any man of his generation to preserve and promote Sanskrit learning. Professor Homersham Cox was not only a mathematician of very exceptional capacity and enthusiasm, but also brought an incisive mind to bear on all questions affecting this University. Professor Gardener Brown did more than any of his time for advancing the study of history.

Nor must I omit mention of those who left their class rooms and laboratories at the call of the Empire and gave their lives in its great service.

Looking back over 28½ years, I see vast strides in the education of this province. One great change in the extension of the hostel system which has done much already and assuredly will do more as an agency for forming character. All along the line there is improvement. If we compare India of to-day with European countries as they were at a corresponding stage of educational development, we need not be ashamed of our achievements. England did not get facilities for compulsory education until 1870 and it took six years after that before education was made generally compulsory. For several years subsequently the teachers in elementary schools in England were largely illiterate. Secondary education in England is still

unsatisfactory, although there has been great improvement in the last few years. True, our own educational ideals in India are still far from clear. Our educational machinery is in part worn out and rusty. But still it has accomplished much. Faulty and makeshift as it necessarily has been our education has made modern India. It has purified the public services ; it has increased the number of men who think ; it has prepared the way for new ideas and larger conceptions of civic duty ; it has opened new avenues of employment ; it will end, I trust, in the growth and the spread of imperial ideas. There are still great walls of ignorance to be battered down. There are many and great temples of education to be built up. There is a call for the highest service from the best of India's sons. But the members have been stirred. The beginnings of a desire for free and compulsory education are manifest. Great hopes thrive and grow. In a short time we have fulfilled a long time. Sir Alfred Lyall said truly in his inaugural address : "Whatever else may be said of the English administration of India, no one can assert that in the matter of education the English have not been open-handed and unreservedly, almost audaciously, liberal." We have tried to give education to India on the basis of trust and common aspiration.

No country is satisfied with its educational system. All are trying to improve it. We in this province, the Government and the people, are striving shoulder to shoulder to better things. It is mainly a question of finance, in other words, of material progress. For education and material progress go hand in hand. As education improves, so material prosperity advances ; and with the advance of material prosperity funds become available to make education more efficient. The United States of America with a population one-third of that of India spend 160 million pounds sterling annually upon education. In India we cannot yet anticipate such an expenditure ; but every sacrifice made for the cause of education will bear fruit a hundredfold in the years to come. Never forget that education breeds prosperity and prosperity breeds education.

None appreciates more than I do the value of a liberal education for its own sake. But we have to face things as they are. Every educational system rests on a certain social order. The social order has changed and with this there must be a change of educational system. Even before the war new ideals of educational policy were in the air ; and the war has changed

7

the aspect of policy much as a stream of lava changes the country at the base of some great volcano, or a tidal wave changes some island in the Pacific Ocean. The war has broken up the despotism of the humanities and has installed a federation of the sciences and humanities. This is the great, the master change. For centuries education has, to use Macaulay's phrase, disdained to be useful. It must be useful now. And yet one may hope that the humanising of science, the scientific use of the humanities will go on side by side. No mere materialistic education will ever satisfy India. Over and above us all towers the peak of sheer educational power, over us all is still cast the spell of the ideal.

Some of you will remember how Sir Auckland Colvin preached the importance of science to this University, and how his arguments were then regarded as an insidious undermining of political aspiration. I have seen one of our public men attacking Government in those days for its designs on humanistic studies and of late attacking Government for its neglect of science in education. I welcome the change of view. I will do my best to help you to meet the new demand, to promote "research and discovery and the application of knowledge for the improvement of mankind."

In England the epoch-making report of Sir J. J. Thomson's committee has pealed the bells of a new era. On every side one hears the cry for more and more applied science. The day of the specialist has dawned at last. Chemistry, as Sir Thomas Holland aptly said, is the foundation of all modern civilized activities. India's great need to-day is the application of chemistry to agriculture and industry.

The question of university reform will soon come upon us. The policy of the Government of India has been to restrict the area under which the affiliating universities have control by securing, in the first instance, a separate university for each of the leading provinces of India, and, secondly, to create new local teaching and residential universities in each of the provinces in harmony with the best modern opinions as to the right road to educational efficiency. We have already a new university in the province, the Benares Hindu University. It is not a provincial institution, but it serves a large number of our people. Considerable funds have been collected for a Muslim university at Aligarh. May I, as an old friend of Aligarh, who had the

honour of knowing Sir Saiyid Ahmad Khan and was an intimate friend of Mr. Justice Mahmud, Nawab Mohsin-ul-Mulk, Nawab Viqar-ul-Mulk and others, appeal to my Muslim friends, who have done so well under trying conditions during the war, to close up ranks and work together for their sons and companions' sake in order that they may play their full part in the educational development of the province? I contemplate the creation of new universities first at Lucknow and later on at Agra. I shall appoint a committee to consider the establishment of these new universities as soon as the report of Dr. Sadler's Committee is published. Great distinction must be drawn between the conditions that prevail in Calcutta and the conditions that prevail here, but I hope that we shall learn much from the report of that committee. We must also try to develop a teaching university in Allahabad. This will involve the separation of what may be called the internal and external branches of the university. There are rumours that Dr. Sadler's committee will make important proposals in this connection. It has long been my own view that all work above the standard of Bachelorship in arts and science should be university work, concentrated at the university centre and directed entirely by the university. It was an objection to this view that it would lower the standard of collegiate study and so lead eventually to a lowering of the college professorial staff. This argument will be met in the future by increasing the number of local teaching universities. The province lends itself extraordinarily well geographically to a rearrangement of this kind. In any case the view advocated resembles the line of advance in the West. Sir J. J. Thomson's committee is clear on the point. In America distinction is already drawn between the disciplinary education of the college and free ranging education of the university. This according to one American authority is "the most characteristic fact in the history of higher education during the past quarter of a century." "The college," he continued, "has for its object the important work of training students for the duties of citizenship, not primarily the duties of scholarship." Another eminent American authority has outlined his idea of a university. The success of the higher work, he says, depends upon the intellectual and moral qualities of the professors, their freedom from all pecuniary anxiety, the widest publicity for their work and that of their assistants and students, and the steady improvement of libraries and laboratories.

Under such a system pure research as distinct from applied research will be concentrated in the university. If we are to redeem our inferiority in the eyes of the world educational, we must start research in every department of knowledge. "Science," said Sir Thomas Holland the other day, "is not the monopoly of Europe, but we must do more than transplant the results, if it is to grow in India. We must undertake our own research work here." Chairs of research have already been founded in this University in history and economics and the work done has been most satisfactory. But the scope is pitifully small. The whole prestige of Indian university education suffers from its relative barrenness in the matter of research. Outside the universities research has been pushed forward, at the Tata Institute, Pusa, and other agricultural colleges, Dehra Dun, elsewhere. In the region of medical and sanitary science the work of Leonard Rogers, Liston and many others has been second to none in the world. The annual reports of the Board of scientific advice in India, the agricultural, geological and forest journals, the journal of India, medical research and other scientific research, afford encouraging reading. But the universities have not led the way. We must multiply chairs. We must appeal to those who are wealthy to endow them. I entirely agree with all that Sir Leonard Rogers said on this subject the other day. My Government will be ready to help you in this vital matter. I make you one advance offer this afternoon. We are singularly deficient in the teaching of geography. Geography is now one of the great sciences. "The forms of the land," said Sir Archibald Geikie, "and their origin, the climates of the globe, the distribution of plants and animals and the causes that have regulated it, the influence of the variations of climate, soil and topography upon the history of man, the re-action of man upon nature—these and a thousand other connected problems form the subject of the highest kind of geography. Such a theme invested with so much human interest possesses a peculiar value in education." To which we may add its essential and transcendent value for the industrial advance of India, and her political incorporation in the British Empire. I am prepared to finance a chair of geography if you will secure from Europe a really trained geographer to inaugurate this new and fruitful course of study. Germany, France and Italy recognize the importance of this subject. In Italy alone there are twelve chairs of geography.

The science of geography is one of the main subjects of any course of commercial education. Except in the universities of London and Birmingham, commercial education has not secured much support in England. But it has gone far in America and on the continent of Europe, and it must play a large part in the reconstruction of the world that we trust will follow the declaration of peace. In this University we have a faculty of commerce which is capable of development. I do not say that this is at present one of the most urgent and needed reforms of education in India. But if good results are to follow the recommendations of the Industrial Commission, the importance of commercial education will soon be felt throughout India. In this connection let me quote to you the opinion of Professor Karl Pearson, who devoted much attention to this branch of education: "What is needed from the national standpoint is at most two or three perfectly efficient, fully manned, and fully equipped commercial universities attracting students from the whole area of the Empire. It is not a mere professor of commerce that is required, but ultimately a staff of ten or a dozen such professors, with a large auxiliary force of lecturers and assistants * * * "A fundamental rule of the commercial university ought to be the "third free year" of the Russian academic system, and this means that only two-thirds of the senior staff will at any given time be actually engaged in teaching. The "third free year" is only free from teaching work, the lecturer is expected to travel for the purposes of research specially owing to the rapidly altering, ever contracting and developing processes of commerce, it will be needful for the teacher to keep in touch with current progress and methods. Nor can a man rear men to be pioneers unless he has done pioneering work himself.

We must now enquire whether our libraries are sufficiently up-to-date and our laboratories sufficiently equipped for purposes of research. You will be interested to learn that we have asked the Government of India for a scientist capable of organizing the technological institute at Cawnpore for which the province has been waiting so long.

Our Senate has introduced a rule that speeches should be limited to ten minutes. Admirable rule, an example to all, disregarded by me, alas, this afternoon. My excuse is the magnitude and the difficulties of my theme. If I urge strongly the claims of scientific and practical education, it is because the times require them. Many minds must meet upon this problem before

we can hammer out a scheme. Only three things I beg of you. First, let us, as far as possible, keep racial feeling out of education. Secondly, let us not be afraid of change and new ideas. Thirdly, let us face the future with big hopes and large schemes. It is not a time for timid compromise, or halting advance. A new world is in the making, which some of us will scarcely live to enjoy. You of the younger generation, who have received your degrees this afternoon, I hope, will live to see the great transformation. On your efforts the future of your country will depend. Cultivate enthusiasm. Go out into every corner of the province as missionaries of education. It is the highest service that you can render to your generation. The struggle may be long and arduous but the reward will be great. For you will bring prosperity and health, well-being and all the blessings to millions of your own people that material and moral progress carry in its train.

Chamber of Commerce Banquet at Cawnpore, 30th November, 1918.

MR. SMITH AND GENTLEMEN,

I feel I owe you an apology for having suggested St. Andrew's night as the date convenient to me to receive the great honour of an invitation from you. Not being a Scotsman I confess that I made the suggestion in ignorance, but when I discovered my mistake I at once wrote to ask you if any other night would be more suitable. You replied in the negative and the date therefore stood. Although I am not a Scotsman I realize to the full what St. Andrew's night means. I have had ample opportunities in Calcutta, in Rangoon and here observing and admiring what Scotsmen have done for India. And your kindness emboldens me to invoke the good-will of your patron Saint on the proceedings of this evening and on the future of Cawnpore and of the United Provinces.

You have referred in eloquent terms to the great victories which have signalized perhaps the most momentous events in history. More eloquent tongues than mine have attempted to do justice to the times in which we live and to the times which we must foresee. I will only say that I deem it a great privilege to live to see these days and to take any part however small in shaping the future which we hope and believe is pregnant with great developments. I also take this opportunity of paying once more the tribute which we all owe and all feel to the brave men of the Naval, Military and Air Forces of the King-Emperor who have dared all and done all to bring about the great victory in consort with our brave Allies under the consummate strategy of Marshal Foch and Marshal Douglas Haig.

Then, I should like to say how I already feel at home in Cawnpore. I was used in Calcutta and Rangoon to live on very pleasant terms of confidence and co-operation with the non-official community. Cawnpore has not been behind Calcutta or Rangoon in the welcome which you have extended to me or in the friendliness which has marked our relations. I greatly appreciate this, and you may be sure that whatever happens, and even if we should disagree on any point, there can be no want of co-operation or confidence on my side in you.

Gentlemen, Cawnpore is no mean city. Cawnpore, as I have said, is the industrial capital of the province. Cawnpore is the most patriotic centre in the province. I need not refer to your great mills and concerns which employ over 30,000 hands, and have been working night and day to provide munitions and supplies for our brave armies. I will only refer to the war loan, and to the response which you made to my appeal to you. Cawnpore alone invested over 140 lakhs in the last war loan. That in itself is the highest tribute to the patriotism and enterprise and the standing of your community. I have endeavoured to thank you all and some of you individually. I must mention specifically that the Cawnpore Woollen Mills and the new Egerton Woollen Mills have under the patriotic guidance of Sir Alexander McRobert, whose name will ever stand out foremost in the history of Cawnpore, have since the beginning of the war invested no less than £ 11,75,000 in the various forms of war loan.

Then, again, Cawnpore is the centre and focus of the industrial life of the province. I am one of those who believe that the solution of Indian problems depends more on the industrial than on the political side. A great father of the Christian Church, St. Ambrose, once said :—" Not in dialectic has it pleased God to save his people." I do not deprecate the importance of political reforms and I think I may say without any official impropriety that I and my advisers have worked out a scheme, which is a liberal and progressive scheme. I have recently been conferring with the committees who have been sent to work out details of the general scheme of reforms, and I should like to say how impressed I am with the ability and earnestness with which they are endeavouring to carry out their most important work, and I can assure Lord Southborough and his colleagues that any assistance that we can give them they will have in full measure from myself and my officers, whatever the individual opinion of any of us may be. Personally I am inclined to think that important as the terms of the reforms are, it is even more important to work them out animated by the same spirit of co-operation, which has manifested itself so gloriously in the battle-fields and the grave-yards of France, of Mesopotamia, of Palestine and elsewhere. I believe that that co-operation is growing up on solid foundations of increasing mutual regard. I am very glad to hear the tribute which you, Mr. Smith, pay to the chairman

of the Municipal Board, Rai Bihari Lal Bahadur and Rai Avadh Bihari Lal Bahadur, Executive Officer. We look to Cawnpore for that help and guidance in the industrial development of the province to which I have already referred. In this connection, may I quote once again the weighty and eloquent words of His Excellency the Viceroy in his speech at Delhi on the 6th of February 1918 ?

" No reforms in India will achieve their purpose, unless they have their counterpart in the industrial sphere. A great industrial advance, re-acting strongly on social and educational conditions is, I am convinced, a condition precedent to the development of healthy and political life in this country."

I was distressed to learn of the heavy toll that this terrible epidemic of influenza has taken of the people of Cawnpore, but I am glad to find that the disease is subsiding. Cawnpore has my deepest sympathy in this great trouble. The prospect of scarcity also hangs over us like a cloud, and although there is still time for rain (and we must not give up hope) we must be prepared, and I am preparing, to meet any situation that may arise. At present there are no signs of distress. We have poured two crores of rupees as advances into the province, we are going to make suspensions of revenue where necessary. The large numbers whom we have recruited recently for the army are remitting considerable sums of money to many districts of the province, and I doubt if ever there was a time when the province had more money in circulation. We are watching food-supplies closely and gaining all the information we can. I am glad that the price of cloth has declined materially. The recent high prices have hit the poor and undermined their strength with cold nights coming. Altogether you may be confident that we are watching the situation closely and our central observers and watchmen are in Cawnpore in the persons of Mr. Hailey and Mr. Blunt.

You have referred to the town-planning committee and the approaching visit of Mr. Lanchester. Mr. Lanchester will arrive at the end of the year and proceed to Cawnpore, I fully realize the importance of relieving the congestion and improving the conditions of life in Cawnpore and I rely on you to assist in making your own famous city more worthy of its position in India.

The question of labour is one that continually occupies the attention of Government. You have referred to the difficulties

which you experience in this connection. It may be hoped that the close of war will make some difference in the labour supply. At present our labour is immobile, the bulk of it is recruited from rural areas and is uncertain and unstable. It dislikes the conditions of town life, though much has been done to reconcile it to them by the admirable housing policy of Sir Alexander McRobert and his collaborators and of Messrs. Cooper Allen. I have been over their model colonies and I earnestly hope, indeed I am told, that other big firms intend to follow their example as soon as they can get the necessary sites and materials. The labouring population, who have been through the army in large numbers of late, will, I hope, be accustomed now to changes of life and surroundings and will be more ready to fall in with the conditions of industrial life in towns than they were before the war. But the real remedy for the difficulties with which we are faced, a remedy which I do not disguise from you may create difficulties of its own but which is nonetheless a remedy to cling to, is the spread of primary education amongst the classes from whom your labour is recruited. My Government have already worked out a scheme for a very large and rapid expansion of primary education and has financed it for three years at a maximum cost of well over 20 lakhs. The Government is also alive to the necessity of a sound system of industrial education for the factory population. There is already a project, which will be very soon carried into effect, to start textile classes for factory hands in Cawnpore ; classes for electric wiremen will soon be started ; technical schools have been improved and their number is being increased. In all these matters your community has always been ready to co-operate with the Government, and I thank you for all that you have done and look forward to you to help us in our further efforts towards progress in practical vocational instruction. There are many matters on which I shall have to consult you in this connection during the course of my term of office.

The war loans have drawn attention to the importance of capital in the province and the need for its organization and for the improvement of banking facilities. I do not think that the difficulty of capital is one that we need much consider in comparison with the difficulty of labour. We have also got abundant agricultural and forest resources which we are endeavouring to develop with the assistance of yourselves and

by experiments of our own. I attach considerable importance to the reclamation of waste lands in certain parts of the province by afforestation which will supply materials required in industry and provide fodder which is needed on ordinary occasions and which will relieve difficult situations like the present.

You have referred to the Industrial Commission's report, an able and valuable document. I will not say more to-night than that we are rather frightened in this province at the prospect of the centralization on which the policy of the Commission apparently depends. We fully realize that in war time and for military purposes matters must be temporarily centralized. But one of the things which has most struck me in recent years is the growth of provincial patriotism. When we have provincial governments on a new basis this feeling will necessarily increase. We must build on this provincial patriotism.

It only remains for me to thank you, Mr. Smith, most heartily for the kind references which you have made to myself and you, gentlemen, for the kind way in which you have received them. There is one little correction that I must make. You have referred, Mr. Smith, to the "dry bones" of Burma. Those dry bones have a good deal of marrow in them. Let me tell you the romance of Wolfram. Wolfram was wanted for war munitions. I went to Tavoy in December and found a sleepy village. On my return I appealed to the big firms of Burma to go in and get it out. I undertook to mass staff in Tavoy, to make rough roads suitable for motor traffic and to build a considerable number of wooden houses if they would take the matter up. The interview lasted under an hour but the firms were soon at work. There was next to no correspondence. Seven months later in July I went down again to Tavoy and found the place full of life. A new club with over 100 members had been started. There were close on 20 mining engineers and something like 100 motor cars were running about the place where there had been none before. New shops were established, a bank had been opened and the whole place showed signs of busy life. That, gentlemen, was done quietly but most effectively by the big firms of Rangoon as it were in a night. The results were the output of Wolfram which are well known. I can never forget what I owe to the non-official community in Rangoon. I took forward with the

greatest pleasure to co-operate with you in the future. I do not ask more from you or from any one in the province than to judge me in the end by the results of my work. Meanwhile, I should be indeed ungrateful if I did not recognize the great assistance which I have received on all sides from officials and non-officials alike; and if I have one message for the province which I shall repeat in season and out of season it is that we should all continue increasingly to work together.

*Prize Distribution at the Muir Central College, Allahabad, 12th
December, 1918.*

STUDENTS OF THE MUIR CENTRAL COLLEGE,

The pressure of public life and engagements has forced me to abstain on more than one occasion from attending ceremonies like the present, not for any want of interest in them but simply because I have to economize my time. But my interest in the students of the province generally, and in those of the Muir College in particular, which I have known now for over 28 years, will not allow me to forego the pleasure of coming amongst you on this Darbar day and sharing in the festivities suitable to the occasion.

This is your college day. Since last you celebrated it you have lost one of the college's most distinguished sons, Dr. Sir Sundar Lal. Cherish his memory. He was a great man and he loved this college well and was always ready to help you.

Now I must congratulate the prize-winners. Those will succeed in the fierce competition of life who work hard themselves and study even harder how to work with their fellow-men. All labour is effective in proportion as it is combined with the greatest of all gifts and blessings, a knowledge of the world. This is usually acquired by one's own mistakes and an appreciation of them. Few are wise enough to take the experience of others for their guidance. The best prayer I can say for you is "May you get a knowledge of the world with as few mistakes as possible." Some training you acquire in what the Government of India has called "that most important side of education, physical culture and organized recreation." I am particularly glad to give the prizes for athletics and sports this afternoon.

When I last addressed you in August, I told you that the end of the war was in sight, though I could not then predict when it would come. It has come with the bewildering destruction of a flood. It has carried thrones and governments before it and altered the geographical and moral map of the world. The crowning victory of the Allies recalls in its completeness the action of Nemesis or vengeance which in the Greek tragedy stalked and struck down Hubris or overbearing arrogance. We have celebrated the occasion with rejoicings which were very

meet and due ; but in the midst of our rejoicings we must look towards the future of a world which is undergoing, in a few weeks, changes which may be compared to the results of seismic forces in nature. The world can never be what it has been before, and although the peaceful life of Hindustan may not undergo any sudden or violent transition, yet economic and political forces have been let loose in the world which will assuredly affect all problems here. The precise forms which this dynamic influence will assume, none of us can at present foresee. We can only prepare to meet them as they come and to make the best of them for the good of India. One thing is clear. We must expect all theories that we have learnt, all shibboleths that we have uttered, to submit to profound and vital change.

I want to talk to you this afternoon on some of the aspects of the new position in which we in India find ourselves in the face of the great changes that have taken place elsewhere. In a speech which I delivered at Agra on the 18th of July last I discussed the imperial idea, its place in history, its prospects and its potentialities. I indicated the great difference that distinguished the British Empire from other empires that have existed in India. The British Empire, I said, does not rest on the idea of forcing peoples into one mould in order to form one nation. It rests on the idea of developing peoples into fuller and greater nationhood on the basis of self-government and freedom. And after a brief review of the main events of Indian history I confessed that my imagination was powerfully affected at the thought that the two great streams of Aryan civilization which parted in the mists of ancient history, to found one the Mediterranean, the other the Vedic civilization, which re-united for a short time only under Alexander, should meet once more in this ancient land and enlist in one grand imperial effort all that was best and most enduring in ancient culture and in modern progress.

One of the chief lessons of the war is the unity of the empire. One of the chief problems of the future is to consolidate that unity by some constitutional process. At the present moment India is worthily represented by His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner and Sir S. P. Sinha in the great discussions connected with the terms of peace. This in itself should make you reflect on the great change that has occurred in the position of India in the empire, a change which would have

appeared outside the range of practical politics less than a generation ago. You are born to days of greater relationships than were your fathers before you. India will henceforth be an integral and honoured member of the empire, self-respecting, with an assured prospect of the progressive realization of responsible government. Committees are working out details of the scheme of reforms and that scheme will eventually be laid before the Imperial Parliament. I beg you to accept whatever scheme of reforms may eventually be passed and to co-operate among yourselves and with the British for the development of India.

Much will depend on the attitude of the present generation. I appeal to you, with all my heart I appeal to you, to set before yourselves constructive ideals of progress instead of destructive ideals of criticism. That is the great change that we must contemplate : construction instead of criticism. Already you have made considerable advance in this direction. During the terrible epidemic of influenza, which has recently afflicted the province, non-official associations, including many students, have rendered sterling services in relieving suffering humanity. I cannot speak too highly of the work of the various societies, such as that recently established at Allahabad, the Sewa Samity at Agra, the Arya Samaj and others at Cawnpore, and similar societies in different parts of the province. On behalf of the Government I tender you my appreciation and my thanks. In other ways in recent years you have taken upon yourselves constructive work. I remember some 20 years ago an Indian friend of mine showing me a letter from another Indian friend of his which ran as follows :—"Can you tell me what harm railways have done to India? As far as I can see they have done good ; but they must have done harm." That was an attitude of mind not uncommon 20 years ago. To-day we think differently. It is recognized that railways and other works of material progress have conferred enormous blessings upon India, and that Western education has laid the foundations of progress towards a greater state of well-being. There is a season for everything under heaven, and now, believe me, is the season for construction. The first duty of a student is study, but you can direct your studies and your leisure to a serious preparation for constructive action.

I ask you to realize your position in the empire, to take pride in the empire and in the larger relationship which it offers. The empire is the greatest and most powerful that the world

has ever seen. Let me quote to you what the President of the French Republic said the other day of Britain's part in the war :—" It was then that to a history so rich in magnificent pages Great Britain added an incomparable chapter not only of naval and military glory but of moral strength and human greatness. She realized immediately that hostilities would be long and would demand of the British Empire the gradual formation of a powerful army and the creation of enormous quantities of material. The enormousness of the task did not frighten her in the least. She called to the work of war all her Dominions and Colonies and from one end of the world to the other the cry of love was the reply. He did not know a finer spectacle than that of people scattered over the face of the earth rising at the same moment with the same spirit to fly to the mother country's aid. What a noble recompense has the spirit of liberty, which has always inspired the administration of the British Empire, received in this universal fidelity ! Enlarged by all these contingents the armies of Great Britain during the war gained in experience and improved their tactics of warfare and paved the way by more striking successes for that marvellous series of victories which compelled the enemy to solicit an armistice." Was ever finer tribute paid by the head of one great nation to another ? In all this you now share. The Indian Forces of the King-Emperor have won undying fame for India.

I am told that the War Journal has been of the greatest interest and profit to you. It is very close to my heart to see established some form of literature which will keep you interested in and informed of imperial matters. Meanwhile, you can develop your position in the empire by adopting a constructive policy in regard to matters of closer and more direct concern to you. There is social reform, without which you cannot get very far on Western lines, and there is agriculture, which is and always will be the greatest source of wealth in India. There is industrial development ; there is the co-operative credit movement ; there is the study of poverty and economics, the mitigation of disease and the spread of a new gospel of moral and material progress. In particular, you can help to create a band of teachers to work as missionaries and pioneers of progress, to open up the dark places of India and to let in light and air. I said in my speech here in August that we must try and give the sons and daughters of India as good

an education as we have had ourselves, that we must infuse new life and new spirit into the whole education machine by sending young Indians home in large numbers to be trained in England and elsewhere on the latest ideas and methods of education in order to convey to India the best that can be given her and to spread abroad enthusiasm for progress. I hope that some of you may participate in some such scheme. But any such effort must be supplemented by greater local enthusiasm in the province. Then there is a matter which ought to receive more attention than it does. I mean the amusement of the people, the brightening of their lives. The belief in a mythical economic man, who was always out for gain, devoid of natural emotions, the figment of a philosopher's brain, has been the curse which has rested on the political and social and economic theories of the Victorian era. The revolt of the modern man is largely a revolt against the dullness of his life and the dullness of his surroundings. In Native States they have processions, wrestling matches, meetings and similar amusements which interest the people and give them topics of conversation outside their hard and humdrum lives. This may appear a small thing to you, but, believe me, very large issues in the future depend on whether we can brighten the lives of the peoples now. Ponder this. It is a big thing not thought out. When we celebrate peace, let us bear this consideration in mind, and after peace let all of us try, when occasion offers, to take part in any movements which will brighten the lives of the people. In all this you can help. It is such social services rather than professional accomplishments which the judgment of history will record in grateful recognition, and it is the doctrine of service and of self-dedication that appeals perhaps more forcibly than any other to young India, as I have seen it in my time. That was the doctrine which my late lamented and venerated friend Sir Guru Das Banerji preached so eloquently, so earnestly and so often to the Students' Institute in Calcutta, where I used to go from time to time to meet my student friends. The Government will do all it can to help you; but the effort for the regeneration of India must come from the sons and daughters of India, and I am one of those who believe that in time it will come.

Young men, I do not conceal from you that you will have great difficulties to encounter, the inevitable difficulties that dog new adventures, a social system adverse to change and

calculated to sap enthusiasm and enterprise, the persistence of old ideas, vested interests and all that goes to favour inaction. But you must not lose heart. If you discipline yourselves and persevere you will prevail. There may be periods of depression, periods of anxiety, periods when you are troubled and your spirit is overwhelmed. But I charge you never to falter or despair. Hold high the banner of progress. Remember the dark days of the war and the final triumph. Remember the strong consoling words of the Psalmist—"And I said, this is my infirmity ; but I will remember the years of the right hand of the Most High."

Allahabad University Reform, Allahabad Government House,
13th February, 1920.

MR. VICE-CHANCELLOR AND GENTLEMEN,

I am grateful to you for meeting me here this morning in order to discuss large questions affecting the reconstitution of the Allahabad University. I hope that the result of our deliberations and recommendations will be a real and great advance in higher education.

I need not assure you of my interest in education and I can promise you, as head of the Government, the Government wishes to take you completely into its confidence, to conceal nothing from you, and to finance liberally any conclusions to which we may come. I am told sometimes that there is still in certain quarters a suspicion that the Government has sinister designs either to check education or to favour one form of education at the cost of another ; or to develop one particular class of educational institution. This is not so. I want to see every form of education advanced and improved all down the line. I want to encourage all workers in the educational field. Above all and before all I want the people of this province to have the best education that we can provide.

I need hardly dilate on the pride which we all justly feel in our University. We simply cannot exaggerate what we owe to the Allahabad University. It has guided the educational system of the province on lines which we all feel to have been sound, and it has done this with practically no interference from Government. We owe a great deal to Sir Alfred Lyall and the original founders of the University for the spirit which has grown up in the place. We regard our University not only with pride but with affectionate veneration.

But there is a general feeling that we ought to consider the constitution of the University in the light of experience gained elsewhere and thrown of late into sharp relief. So long ago as 1913, when I was a member of the Governor-General's Council in charge of education, the Government of India, following the lead of Lord Haldane's great committee on London University Reform, pronounced in no hesitant voice in favour of unitary teaching and residential universities. More

lately an exceptionally qualified commission, presided over by that veteran educationist, Sir Michael Salder, has reviewed the whole field of education with a thoroughness and ability which leaves nothing to be desired, and they too have pronounced in favour of unitary teaching and residential universities. In no country perhaps have there been more experiments in education than in America, and after trying many types of universities, opinion in America seems to be settling down definitely in favour of the unitary teaching and residential type. The idea of developing residential teaching universities has been steadily gaining ground in India. Already the Allahabad University has made a start in the development of post-graduate teaching and research. It has secured four distinguished professors, the late Dr. Venis, Dr. Weir, Professor Rushbrook-Williams and Professor Stanley Jevons, who have organized schools in their different subjects and have added to the utility and dignity of the University. But centralized teaching should not be confined to advanced studies ; it is equally valuable in the training of under-graduates and for bringing teachers together, so that in a common university life they may stimulate and encourage one another.

The opportunity has now arisen to make a big move forward. We have in Allahabad the nucleus of a unitary teaching and residential university, which can and should be second to none in India, which can and should be worthy of Allahabad. We are going to have a unitary teaching and residential university at Lucknow and also later on at Agra. The same class of university has been started at Benares and is now under contemplation at Aligarh. This is what I wish to put before you as the ultimate ideal, *viz.*, unitary teaching and residential universities in this province at Allahabad, Benares, Lucknow, Agra, Aligarh and, it may be before long, also at Cawnpore, where we have already an Agricultural College and where there are going to be a Research Institute and a Commercial College.

To insure this and carry out the recommendations of the Sadler Commission we shall have to face big changes. First, we must re-draw the line where university education should begin. Hitherto this line has been drawn at the matriculation or school-leaving stage or roughly speaking at the age of 16. The proposal of the Salder Commission, a proposal which was accepted by a very strong and influential committee at

Lucknow, is that the university course should begin at the intermediate stage, or roughly speaking at the age of 18. In order that the course may not be made too long a compromise has been proposed, namely, that the age limit should be lowered and that it should be open to boys of more than average ability to take the school-leaving certificate examination at the age of 15 and the intermediate examination at the age of 17 years. They would then get their degree after a three years' university course at the age of 20. As a matter of fact under the present rules very few students graduate at the age of 20. In this matter, however, we had better perhaps leave the question for the decision of the University authorities in due course.

Then it is proposed that such of the outlying colleges as are now affiliated to the Allahabad University, should, in places where residential universities do not arise, become intermediate colleges. That is a proposal which perhaps will excite considerable opposition. Local sentiment may be in favour of having its colleges teaching up to the degree standard. In this matter I suggest a compromise. I think it inevitable that the outlying colleges should eventually be intermediate colleges. Their own educational needs will be better looked after when they are intermediate colleges. Where however local feeling does not readily acquiesce in a change of status, its demand for a share in university education can be met by the provision of its own hostels at the centres where there are unitary teaching and residential universities. But as the quality of novelty is terrifying and as vested interests are very shy, I think that we can without surrender of our ideals go through a period of transition during which the existing college should still be affiliated to the university. For the time being, at any rate, an affiliating branch of the university will have to be maintained for the colleges in the Central Provinces, Central India and Rajputana. The university would then consist of two parts:—

The local unitary teaching and residential university, comprising all colleges above the grade of intermediate college in the Allahabad Municipal area and an external branch of the university, dealing with the colleges outside Allahabad and now affiliated to it. The goal must however be kept steadily in view, and out of the external branch must spring as soon as may be unitary teaching universities, while the affiliating

system steadily shrinks and withers away till only centralized universities fed by intermediate classes are left.

The high school and intermediate classes would be under a board on which the university would be strongly represented. The university would be autonomous with separate bodies to direct the teaching and the external side, the two sides working on separate budgets. I hope that before long existing affiliated colleges outside the centres where there are unitary teaching and residential universities will see the advantage of becoming intermediate colleges. I am not in the habit of preaching without practice, and I have already examined the cases of two Government institutions. The Queen's College at Benares is situated in a centre where there is a unitary teaching and residential university, and I am prepared to convert that college into an intermediate college, as soon as this can be done without prejudice to the students there and the institution. It has been suggested to me that the Roorkee College should be turned into a school for the training of Public Works subordinates and that an engineering college should be built somewhere else, preferably at Cawnpore. All recommendations of the different commissions who have recently investigated Roorkee have been the other way and proposals are actually now in train for attaching the lower classes at Roorkee to the Lucknow Industrial school. There are obvious objections to a college remaining in isolation without university life. But so much money has been sunk in Roorkee which, it must always be remembered, is to some extent an imperial institution, that, I think, for the present, as practical men, we must leave things as they are. This does not mean that there will not be room for colleges of engineering elsewhere. Already there is a faculty of engineering at Benares and we may develop other engineering schools hereafter. Possibly a college of mechanical and electrical engineering may be required at Cawnpore.

I have said that I will treat the new University liberally. I am glad to be able to give the existing University one lakh out of savings this year. Large sums will be required when our plans are complete. I hope I have explained the position quite clearly. I hope you will all realize the importance of having the latest and most approved types of educational institutions. We owe it to the rising generation to give it of our best, to be ready freely to divest ourselves of old traditions.

in order that the most approved methods of education may be introduced. Existing institutions have done a great work but we must be prepared—and this is especially the case with the colleges—to sacrifice some of their present advantages for the larger educational life that is to come. In the picture that I can see before me there is room for all to work together. I for one should not like to take the responsibility of throwing any obstacle in the realization of a project which has behind it the best experience of the generation that is coming to an end.

In order to focus discussion I have asked Mr. de la Fosse to draft some resolutions which will form the basis of our deliberations. Now we will take these up in order. You will also be asked to appoint sub-committees to deal with certain subjects. For convenience and at request some of the Resolutions of the Lucknow University Conference are also printed and circulated for information.

Allahabad, 8th August, 1918.

MR. CHAIRMAN AND MEMBERS OF THE ALLAHABAD MUNICIPAL BOARD,

I thank you for your kind welcome to your ancient and historic city. I regret that accident and pressure of business prevented me from receiving an address from you before. It is kind of you to say that you are proud that my career commenced in Allahabad. I, too, am more than proud of the fact.

Allahabad will always have a warm corner in my heart, it is just 28 years since I came here a stranger in a strange land. Much has happened in those 28 years. Many have come and gone, but there are still here familiar faces of 28 years ago. In returning to Allahabad I always know that I shall see friends again. I can assure you that I take deep interest in the development of Allahabad and that I appreciate the traditions which endear this city to you. I have read the account of the working of your water-works, your drainage scheme and your system of electric supply. I was present at the opening of the water-works in 1891 and I am glad to think that the water-supply has on the whole been good. I realize the difficulties which have arisen and for which a remedy must be found. I propose to appoint for Allahabad a committee similar to that appointed to consider schemes for the improvement and development of Lucknow. This Committee would be able to take expert advice. We shall then, I hope, have schemes ready for action when the financial position is restored after the war. You can count on my assisting industrial development to the best of my ability. You suggest that the Municipal Act of 1916 is in need of revision. I think we must have considerable experience behind us before we undertake the revision of an important and controversial piece of legislation like this. You have shown your desire for progress in agreeing to introduce free and compulsory primary education and to bear your share in financing the scheme. It will be interesting to see the cost of this great experiment. I am glad that in spite of financial embarrassments you have been able to invest a sum of over half a lakh in the War Loan and I hope that you will continue to make such further investments as your

financial position permits. I particularly appreciate the eloquent words at the end of your address in which you pray that victory may soon attend the allied arms. The things for which the allies are fighting are the things which have made British rule acceptable in your eyes.

Once more, gentlemen, I thank you.

Kshatriya College Conference, Lucknow, 12th March, 1919.

YOUR HIGHNESS AND GENTLEMEN,

I am very glad to show my interest in this movement and I am particularly pleased to see here in Lucknow my old and valued friend, your president, Lieutenant-General His Highness the Maharaja of Kashmir. This is not the first time that I have shown interest in you. On a former occasion I told you that some of my best friends in India have been members of the Kshatriya community and that I had learned early in service from my old master Mr. Bennett the position that the Kshatriya Raja holds in the Hindu polity. I quoted then and I quote again to-day Mr. Bennett's eloquent words regarding that position :—

"Their race had been set apart by immemorial tradition and the sanction of all sacred literature as the wielders and representatives of Hindu power. The Kshatri ruler was as indispensable as the Brahman priest, and his might and magnificence were—and are still—gloried in by the people as the visible manifestation of their national prosperity. With his destruction the national system is broken up, and it is this fact which commands for him the unquestioning obedience, and it may almost be said the enthusiastic affection of his subjects." That has been your position in the past from time immemorial. Changes have come over the surface of Indian conditions but that in essentials is your position to-day in this part of India. But you rightly feel that your glorious past cannot carry you through the difficulties of the present. You realize that you have been backward in education and that the time has come to make a great effort to educate the rising generation of Kshatriyas without losing the character and quality of your race. I entirely agree with the eloquent words of His Highness your president which you quote in your appeal. He is perfectly right when he says :—"We have a double duty to perform. We have on the one hand to think of the welfare of your community and on the other hand to guide the masses aright." This need of your community was first, I think, realized to the full by my old friend the late lamented Rajarshi Raja Udai Partap Singh Sahib, C.S.I., of Bhinga, who not only set aside a lakh of rupees for the endowment of scholarships but later on established the

Hewett Kshattriya High School at Benares for the secondary education of Kshattriya youths at a cost of 10½ lakhs. My old lamented friend Raja Balwant Singh Sahib, C.I.E., of Awagarh, started the Balwant Rajput High School at Agra for the same purpose. Other benefactors of your community are referred to in your address. The Rani Sahiba of Bhinga has resolved to devote a sum of 6 lakhs towards the establishment of this college at Lucknow. The following sums have also, I understand, been promised :—

		Rs.
1	His Highness the Maharaja of Kashmir	2,00,000
2	Rani Sahiba of Majhauli ...	1,00,000
		Provided Court of Ward sanctions.
3	Thakur Baijnath Singh Sahib of Burma	1,00,000
4	Raja Sahib of Tiloi ...	60,000
5	Thakurain Sujan Kunwari Sahi- ba of Gaura, Rae Bareli dis- trict ...	40,000
6	Thakurain Sarfaraz Kunwari Sahiba of Dhanawan, Gonda district	15,000
7	Rani Sahiba of Kalakankar ...	5,000
8	Thakurain Shriraj Kunwari Sahiba of Raya Mau, Rae Bareli district	5,000
9	Thakur Nageshwar Baksh Singh Sahib of Shahpur, Gonda district	5,000

I earnestly hope that you will follow the high example of these generous and public-spirited leaders of your race. You want at least 25 lakhs. I should advise you to collect 30 or 35 lakhs. For you want an institution worthy of your community and its position in the Hindu polity. I am in complete sympathy with your movement and I should like to see a great college spring up at Lucknow in connection with the new university which we hope to found here. I wish you good luck in your appeal and I assure you that my Government will co-operate with you whole-heartedly in order to make the movement a success. It is essentially a movement in which the officers of the British Government can co-operate with the movers, for as a community you owe much already to the British Government and the British Government has no more steadfast supporters

than are to be found amongst the ruling chiefs, Maharajas, Rajas and other members of your community. I will not stand any longer between you and your practical business ; but I did not like to let the occasion pass without coming down to say a few words of sympathy to my old friends in the Kshatriya community.

Sanatan Dharam College, Cawnpore, 1st March, 1920.

GENTLEMEN,

You rightly take my presence here as the practical expression of my approval and sympathy with your movement. Undoubtedly this college will meet a real and ever-increasing need. As the years go by, we must provide greater facilities for higher education, and especially greater facilities for practical or professional training. Although you will be an arts college, you will have a strong commerce side. It is right that in a great commercial town like Cawnpore there should be an institution teaching commerce. You appear to recognize what all experience elsewhere has proved that a good commercial education must be grounded on a good general education. At present the university does not offer a degree in commerce. You will have to adjust your relations with the university in this and other matters. You will not find the University or the Government unreasonable, hard-fisted or narrow-minded. Possibly you will be well advised to concentrate first efforts on the commercial side. I have no doubt that you will be able to work out a satisfactory scheme. Of the value of your aspiration there need be no doubt. In this connection may I quote to you what I said in my address to the Allahabad University rather more than a year ago, when I offered to finance a chair of geography ? I then said that the science of geography was one of the main subjects of any course of commercial education. I added that if good results were to follow the recommendations of the Industrial Commission, the importance of commercial education would soon be felt throughout India. I also quoted the opinion of Professor Karl Pearson who had devoted much attention to this branch of education : "What is needed from the national standpoint is at most two or three perfectly efficient, fully manned, and fully equipped commercial universities attracting students from the whole area of the Empire. It is not a mere professor of commerce that is required, but ultimately a staff of ten or a dozen such professors, with a large auxiliary force of lecturers and assistants..." A fundamental rule of the commercial university ought to be the "third free year " of the

Russian academic system, and this means that only two-thirds of the senior staff will at any given time be actually engaged in teaching. The "third free year" is only free from teaching work, the lecturer is expected to travel for the purposes of research. Especially, owing to the rapidly altering, ever increasing and developing processes of commerce will it be needful for the teacher to keep in touch with current progress and methods. Nor can a man rear men to be pioneers unless he has done pioneering work himself. I commend this opinion of an expert for the consideration of yourselves and those who are interested in this subject.

Another feature of your college will be religious instruction. Personally I am profoundly convinced of the necessity of religious instruction for the young. I said once in Burma : " I myself am convinced that no system of instruction for the young is even tolerable which does not contain at any rate some form of religious instructions. There are difficulties to be overcome in certain countries and amongst certain peoples ; but as Cardinal Newman has said : "A thousand difficulties need not make a single doubt." I would far rather see religious instruction conveyed in a faith alien and even hostile to my own than to see children brought up on non-religious instructions, in the words of the Apostle, " Having no hope and without God in the world." You fully realize the importance of the formation of character, and, believe me, there are no limits to the degree in which surroundings and example may influence the future lives of us all while we are young. Character is particularly valued in the world of commerce. I note the deep satisfaction with which you hail the prospect of university reform. The future of the university will lie with the university. We cannot pre-destinate that future. All we can do is, in taking up university reform, to see that we give to the university that shape and character which experience elsewhere shows to be the best for the conditions of modern life. Able men are now working out the details of a scheme in order to throw ideas of university reform into the concrete. Opinions are necessarily somewhat divergent on the point. I hope that I made it clear at Allahabad the other day that while we must have a clear policy we must deal gently with vested interests and transient conditions. The object of us all must be the same, namely, to provide the best modern education we can with the funds at our disposal and to see that the funds

that are at our disposal are as large as they can be. In this as in other matters we must work together on the basis of self-help and co-operation. Your appeal for funds has not long been before the public, but already you have received subscriptions amounting to rupees four lakhs, excluding the gift of Rai Bahadur Lala Bishambhar Nath which has been exclusively devoted to the school. You mention some of those who are conspicuous for their enlightened public spirit :—Rai Bahadur Lala Bishambhar Nath, Lala Hardat Rai, Lala Jugal Kishore, Lala Kamlapat and Lala Bankey Behari. You are also grateful to the Maharaja Bahadur of Balrampur, and you note your indebtedness for this fine site to Pandit Balbhadar Prasad Tewari, Lala Shiam Lal and Munshi Brindaban and others. I rejoice to learn of the liberal support that you have received from the European firms here. The more you can enlist the good-will and interest of men engaged in commerce the better will it be for the college and its students. On behalf of the Government I thank the gentlemen whom you have named, and I thank also the humbler subscribers whose names are not mentioned here but who have in many cases often at real sacrifice given, what they could afford, to help an institution the benefit of which to their community in the future they fully realize.

I am struck with the growing appreciation in this province of the importance of education and the determination to provide with the help of Government better education for the rising generation, and I want every one in the province from the richest to the poorest to feel that if he will give every rupee that he can spare for an educational institution in his locality, that rupee given to education is as much an endowment of charity as the formation of a charitable trust. Over every gate of every city—over the portal of every Council chamber or place where men resort for public work should be inscribed the great imperative—EDUCATE.

You do not ask for Government aid; but I can promise that I will recommend to the finance committee a large measure of Government support when you need it. I urge you to rely on yourselves first, to devote your money and your service to this college. Let it be your high resolve that here on this beautiful cliff overlooking your sacred river, shall spring up an institution worthy of the great town of Cawnpore, an institution which may in the future be part of a local university and which

will at once impart new and practical learning to your children, thus fitting them more completely for the larger life that is to be. I have read with much pleasure the tribute which you pay to Mr. Stiffe and I once more thank you for your cordial address.

*'Agra Zamindars' Association—Deputation at Lucknow, 10th
March, 1920.*

GENTLEMEN,

When you asked me to receive a deputation at Lucknow I gladly acceded to your request. The landowners of the province of Agra have no greater friend than myself. I desire to take this opportunity of thanking you for the services which you rendered during the war and for the assistance which you gave to Government in the provision of men and money and other forms of help. If you can preserve your influence with your tenants, and that you can only do by treating them wisely and justly, you ought to play a very important part in the future. In the rural electorate, quite apart from special representation, you have the widest scope.

I note with pleasure the tribute which you pay to the Reforms as a whole. With regard to the specific requests in your memorial you will readily understand that I am not in a position to make any statement. The matter is now in the hands of the Government of India and your memorial will be forwarded to them.

If I cannot make any statement to you this morning about your requests, I can take this opportunity to talk to you in a very friendly way about yourselves. I am going to be frank with you, as a friend should be. Now I must tell you that I am really concerned that the province of Agra has not a more active and efficient landowners' association. This is a complaint frequently made to me by individual landowners in different parts of the province. As you are well aware, there are at present two associations in the province, one with its centre at Allahabad and the other with its centre at Muzaffarnagar. Neither of these, if I may say so, has shown as yet that it is a really representative body with an efficient organization. It may be urged in your behalf that your association dates from 1914 only. True, but as yet it has not taken root. You have not yet been able to collect enough money to build yourselves a building of your own, although you have been given a fine site by Government. Now the times are changing and the landowners will have to look after their interests more closely or else they will be left behind in the political race. I am deeply impressed

with the necessity, from your point of view, of associating together and presenting an united front if you wish to maintain the position which you have held hitherto. Hitherto local position has been enough for you. In the times that are to come you will want more than local position. You will want an organized and combined position. This can be secured only by effort and concentration on your part. My government will help you as far as it can but the initiative must come from yourselves.

That is the real crux of the situation. At present the landowners of the province of Agra are scattered and divided. There is at present very little connection or intercourse between the landowners of the eastern districts and the landowners of the western districts, or of the southern districts. But your interests are in the main the same, and you ought to make an effort to get over the geographical difficulty of the situation. If you cannot have one association for the province, you should have branches with defined spheres, but your strength will be in having one central association.

I hope you will take my words in good part as being the words of a real friend of the landowning classes and one who wants to see the landowners of Agra organize really efficient representation of their interests as a body. Those interests are already threatened from more than one quarter. It is high time that you woke up. Organize yourselves, give your children the best education possible, and at all times look after the interests of your tenants. That, gentlemen, is my advice with all goodwill to you.

*Farewell dinner to Sir Henry Richards, Government House,
5th April, 1919.*

CHIEF JUSTICE, LADY RICHARDS, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,

I am very glad to have this opportunity of meeting you here to-night in order that we may pay our tribute of respect and affectionate farewell to Sir Henry and Lady and Miss Richards. My official relations with the Chief Justice have lasted for nearly a year and a quarter ; but I have known him personally for many years, and I believe that when he studied law with my father he saw me before I had attained years of discretion. And I know from what I have heard in different parts of the province in what respect the Chief Justice is generally held.

Now I am not going to say anything about the Chief Justice's judicial qualities or I might raise the wrath of a section of the public who do not think much of a Lieutenant-Governor in any case and regard it as positive anathema if he says anything about the judicial organization of the province. Indeed, I verily believe that if I were to say anything about the judicial qualities of the Chief Justice I should set up a demand for the greater separation of judicial and executive functions. There are two indiscretions which I should like to commit on this occasion. Unfortunately I can only commit one. I can tell you without perhaps betraying official confidence too for that at one time Sir Henry Richards was offered a high judicial post but refused it on the ground of his health. That indiscretion I can commit. The other indiscretion is to tell you quietly and in confidence to-night who will succeed him. That I cannot commit, because, unfortunately, I do not know. But I can and must say something about the services which Sir Henry Richards has rendered to the province outside his judicial work—as vice-chancellor of the university, as president of every big fund that has been opened in his time, and in many other ways. All who have dealt with him in his capacity have realized his rapid grasp of facts, his knowledge of human nature in dealing with them and his swift determination to get something done as soon as possible. These great qualities have recently been recognized by the

conferment on him of the Knighthood of the Order of British Empire. He and Lady Richards and Miss Richards have been prominent in war-work, and he and Miss Richards have done much to encourage the Boys Scout movement. As a sportsman, Sir Henry Richards can hold his own. I believe he is the first chief justice in recent times to play polo, and I hope the accident which he met with the other day in playing polo is only a temporary inconvenience. Like most Irishmen, he has a good knowledge of the points of a horse. He is also an enthusiastic fisherman. He has encouraged golf and he is a keen shot. Only the other day we tramped through a snipe jhil together and I can tell you that the Chief Justice had a better eye for picking up a bird than my trained shikaris, and he plodded through the jhil waist deep delivering destruction right and left with his gun. However, it is not the official characteristics or the sporting proclivities of those who are leaving on which we wish most to dwell on an occasion of this kind. The feeling which is uppermost in our minds to-night is that when you, Sir, go to your well-earned retirement you will leave behind you a host of friends who have received many kindnesses at the hands of you all and who recently hope that you will have your reward in the old country. For the kind hospitality which you dispensed to us, for the great help you gave to us and for the high example which you set us, for these, on behalf of the province and on behalf of the company which is present here to-night, I offer you our sincerest thanks. It is always sad to do a thing for the last time, but you all leave behind you kind associations and grateful memories among a host of true admirers and friends.

Meeting of I. I. R. F., Lucknow, 10th April, 1919.

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,

This meeting has commenced appropriately by the distribution of well-earned rewards to those who have laboured conspicuously to raise men or money or material for the war. I now repeat to you the appeal which was made by His Excellency the Viceroy for an additional 100 lakhs of rupees for the Imperial Indian Relief Fund. In the course of his eloquent appeal His Excellency said as follows:—

"Although no money payment can make up to the bereaved family for the loss of the bread-winner, nor to the invalidated soldier for the loss of a limb or an eye, I feel confident that there are many thousands in India who will desire to show in a practical form their thankfulness for their release from the horrors of this war and from the grave dangers which have assailed the liberties of the world, as well as their spirit of gratitude to those gallant soldiers to whose efforts and suffering this release is largely due. This they can best do by giving liberally towards the Imperial Indian Relief Fund, which has as its object the easing of the burden which now lies so heavily on many of those who fought for the Empire and on the dependents of those who have fallen."

These words need no reinforcement from me or from any one. It is our privilege no less our duty to respond to that appeal in the spirit in which it was made and to see that the United Provinces does worthily. I am aware that many claims have been made on you, that parts of the province are in a distressed condition and I can assure you that it is far from my wish that any pressure should be brought to bear upon you at such a time. I do not wish those with small incomes to be approached on this occasion. But those of us who are comparatively well-to-do ought surely once more gladly to put our hands in our pockets and give what we can to the relief of our brave soldiers and their dependents and survivors. There is one class in particular to which I would appeal and that is the Indian trading class which has not hitherto (I admit there have been noble exceptions) contributed largely to the war. Normal

conditions are returning and there is no class which has benefited more under British rule than the trading class. I therefore make a special appeal to that class. For the rest I know that the people of this province feel pride in keeping up her good name and I need say no more.

There is one other matter which I should like to mention. Field-Marshal Sir Douglas Haig has made an appeal to his brother officers of the British Armies for the disabled officers' fund. "In the moment of success," he says, "our thoughts naturally turn to those of our brave comrades who have fallen in the good fight, or who have been disabled. The former are beyond all mortal aid, to the latter it is our duty and our privilege to stretch out the hand of help and sympathy. In our gratitude we must spare no effort to brighten their lives, to lighten their sufferings, and to comfort them in their irreparable loss—the loss of health and strength." I have been asked to bring this appeal to the notice of European civilians in this province, and I take this opportunity of doing so as I do not wish to have multiplication of appeals. Much has been done already in this province to support the Lady Lansdowne's Officers' Families Fund; but I am sure that there are many Europeans in this province who would like to make some response according to their means to the appeal of our great and victorious General. And I think there are also a considerable number of Indian gentlemen here present this afternoon who have many friends amongst British military officers and who would like some part of their subscription set aside in answer to Sir Douglas Haig's appeal. It has been one of the happiest features of our civilian war-work that Europeans and Indians have freely subscribed each for the relief of other. I have therefore arranged that any one who wishes part of his subscription devoted to the Disabled Officers' Fund can do so. In this connection I may mention that the Maharaja Bahadur of Balrampur has asked that the sum of Rs. 3,250, which is the balance of one of his charitable funds, should be devoted to this object and I shall see that this and any other sums contributed are forwarded to the Adjutant-General.

I will not detain you longer this afternoon. There is nothing new to be said. We all owe it to give what we can to those who have suffered and died. When you return to your districts you should form committees, and collect money

from the well-to-do. If each district on an average gave Rs. 25,000 we should have a total of about 12 lakhs.

The following subscriptions have already been promised :—

Imperial Indian Relief Fund.

	Rs.
Balance in hand of the Provincial Red Cross Organization	2,50,000
Made over by the Provincial Committee of the Imperial Indian Relief Fund out of the Provincial balance	1,30,000
His Highness the Maharaja of Benares ...	50,000
His Highness the Nawab of Rampur ...	25,000
Sir Alexander McRobert	15,000
Woollen Mills Co., Cawnpore (through Sir Alexander McRobert)	15,000
The Hon'ble Raja Sahib of Mahmudabad ...	12,000
Raja Sheo Mangal Singh Bahadur of Mainpuri... ...	10,000
Raja Ragho Prasad Narain Singh, Rai Bahadur, of Baraon	6,000
The Hon'ble Nawab Muhammad Muzammil-Ullah Khan, Khan Bahadur, O.B.E., ...	6,000
Butler Municipal Aeroplane Fund ...	6,071
A sum of Rs. 11,000 has also been subscribed by the following four public-spirited gentlemen of Bulandshahr on behalf of the Rajput-Muslim Committee :—	
Nawab Muhammad Ahmad Said Khan, M.B.E., of Chhitari...	5,000
Khan Bahadur Abdullah Khan	5,000
Pirji Saiyid Mohabali Shah	500
Kunwar Ismail Khan of Asroli	500
The Hon'ble Rai Asthbhuja Prasad Bahadur ...	5,000
Shaikh Maqbul Ahmad of Marehra...	5,000
Rani Surat Kuar Sahiba, O.B.E., of Khairigarh...	2,000
Raja Indarjit Partab Bahadur Sahib of Tamkohi	1,000
Raja Brij Narayan Sahib of Padrauna	1,000
Babu Bhagwari Prasad	1,000
The Hon'ble Lala Sukhbir Singh Sahib of Muzaffarnagar	500
Raja Sadeshri Prasad Narayan Singh Rai Bahadur of Salemgarh	500
Raja Rameshwar Baksh Singh Sahib of Shivagarh and Simarpaha	500
Raja Munshi Madho Lal Sahib, C.S.I.	500
Seth Behari Lal Sahib	500
The Hon'ble Sir Verney Lovett	200
Babu Misri Lal Raldani, Banker of Gorakhpur...	200

Rs.

Babu Ambika Dat Ram of Lucknow	...	100
Babu Raghunath Prasad of Barhalganj	...	100
Lieutenant Kunwar Nand Lal	...	100
The Hon'ble Mr. T. Smith	...	4,000
The Muir Mills Co., Ltd., Cawnpore...	...	4,000

Sir Douglas Haig's Disabled Officers' Fund.

Grant from the U. P. Special War Fund	...	5,000
The Hon'ble Raja Sahib of Mahmudabad	...	3,000
The Hon'ble Nawab Muhammad Muzammil-Ullah Khan, Khan Bahadur, O.B.E.	...	1,500
The Hon'ble Mr. T. Smith	...	1,000
The Muir Mills Co., Cawnpore	...	1,000

*Address at a Meeting of the Senate of the Allahabad University, held
on the 7th August, 1920.*

MR. VICE-CHANCELLOR AND MEMBERS OF THE SENATE,

I am glad to preside to-day as your Chancellor over this meeting of the Senate, because it is no ordinary occasion, because I am deeply interested in the University and very proud to be its Chancellor, and because I may be able—so at least it has been represented to me—to clear up some misunderstandings which seem to have arisen in certain minds. Before I go further I desire to thank the Vice-Chancellor, and the members of the Lucknow and Allahabad committees and sub-committees, for the trouble and care that they have expended on the problem referred to them.

I think we may claim that we are conducting this great problem of University reform by definite stages, and that we have already advanced a certain stage in concord and, indeed, have reached a large measure of agreement. We are generally in agreement that the goal of policy should be the gradual development in these provinces of a number of Universities of the unitary, residential and teaching type. Starting with this objective, we are, I think, in general agreement so far on three main points. The first is that there should be a unitary, residential and teaching University at Lucknow. The second is that the line between University and School teaching should, in future, be drawn at the Intermediate stage. And the third is that the Allahabad University should be divided into two parts: the Internal part, being a self-contained unitary, residential and teaching university; and the External part, being an affiliating university for outlying colleges. So far, I repeat, we are all more or less agreed. As to the details of the reform, much yet remains to be settled.

The first practical work before us to-day is to deal with the question of a unitary, residential and teaching university at Lucknow. Following the unanimous recommendation of the Lucknow University Conference, our sub-committee has already declared in favour of that University in principle, and a Bill has

been prepared and published which endeavours to give effect to that recommendation. I wish to make it clear that the Senate has not been overlooked ; but it was desirable to have a committee in the first instance on which public men interested in education in Oudh and prepared to endow it were represented. I would point out, however, that the majority of the members of this committee were members of the Senate of this University. It was necessary, in view of the rules of business of the Council and the expiry of the lifetime of the existing Council in October, to publish that Bill before the Senate met to-day. But there was no intention on that account to stifle or anticipate the voice and the voting of the Senate. As you are aware, the people of Oudh are very anxious to have this Bill passed before the present Legislative Council comes to an end. I am informed that the people of Oudh have already promised a sum of no less than 26 lakhs towards the establishment of the University. This, I am sure, will be a matter of general and generous rejoicing here, at the very centre and heart of the intellectual life of the province. There is enthusiasm behind this movement, and it is fortunately possible to establish the University at Lucknow without interfering with our University organization. At any rate, to begin with it is proposed that students possessing the Intermediate diploma of the Allahabad University should be eligible for admission to the degree courses of the Lucknow University.

Now I do not think I need go into the details of the Lucknow University. It is based upon the Dacca University Act, which has recently been passed in the Imperial Legislative Council. It differs from the Dacca Act in certain minor matters ; but also in two essentials. In the first place, it has not been thought necessary to make provision in Lucknow for communal representation on the governing bodies of the University ; and secondly, it was thought necessary to preserve the identity and separate life of the colleges, as far as possible, without infringing the principles of a unitary, residential and teaching university. In this connection may I pay a humble tribute of admiration to the fine spirit in which the private colleges in Lucknow have thrown themselves into the scheme, even at some temporary loss to themselves, realising that it made for efficiency and economy in education to the great advantage of the rising and future generations. They have

shown, if I may say so, a large-hearted spirit of self-sacrifice and compromise, and I doubt not that this spirit will dominate and inform the new Universities, because that spirit arises from the colleges and the colleges must always have a dominant voice in the ordering of the University of which they will be essential parts.

You will see, gentlemen, if you look at the Lucknow University Bill, that it deals with the constitution and the structure of the University. I think I can claim for that Bill that, in accordance with the general policy laid down by the Calcutta University Commission, it is framed with the object and policy of leaving the University so far as possible to work out its own ends. No Government in any country can allow universities and, particularly those to which it gives large financial assistance, to grow up without reserving power of advice or control. But it is the policy of the Government to leave the University practically autonomous and you have seen that policy being carried out at your doors in the case of the Benares Hindu University. There have been discussions as to the courses of the future University and such other details. Those discussions are doubtless valuable ; but we must remember that once we have called the University into being the University must settle these things for itself and that therefore we are at the present stage in all these discussions of University reform mainly concerned to shape out the structure and the constitution of the new University. In due course the University will frame its own ordinances and regulations, as well as such additional statutes as may be necessary. We, therefore, need not trouble ourselves with details.

Amongst the amendments I see one in regard to the position of the King George's Medical College at Lucknow. This matter needs some explanation. It is within your recollection that at the meeting of the Lucknow University Committee at Lucknow there was some difference of opinion as to whether the Lucknow Medical College should be an incorporated college or not. In other words, whether the Medical Faculty should be like other Faculties or separately constituted. I felt at the time that this was a difficult technical question, particularly as I was informed that the whole question of medical education was under the consideration of the Government of India. Since then the ground has been cleared, and the Inspector-General of Civil

Hospitals has told me that there will be no objection to the Medical College being incorporated in the University, and provision has accordingly been made in the Bill to place the Faculty of Medicine on the same footing as other Faculties. I believe that this decision will give general satisfaction throughout the province. There will be details to be settled hereafter; but the principle has been clearly embodied in the Bill. I do not think that I need say anything more about the Lucknow University except that your deliberations to-day will no doubt be considered by the select committee which will deal with the Bill in Council and by the governing bodies of the new University when constituted.

I turn now to the second point, namely, the separation of the Intermediate standard from the University. This reform has been discussed in this province from some years back. It undoubtedly involves the reorganization of secondary education. I do not think that it would be reasonable to ask you to come to any definite and detailed conclusions on this important point to-day. It is recognized that a Board is required to control High School and Intermediate education throughout the province, on which the different Universities would be represented. There is urgent need for such an authority independently of University reform, both to bring the High Schools up to a higher pitch of efficiency and to provide courses of training beyond the High School stage that will fit students, who do not intend to proceed to the University, for various practical careers. Whether, therefore, the Universities agree to accept the certificate of the proposed Board for purposes of admission to their degree courses or decide to hold their own examinations for admission, it will still be desirable to establish a Board for the development of higher secondary education in these provinces, and I trust you will give this important matter your careful consideration at as early a date as possible. A Bill has been prepared as a basis of discussion and your opinion has been asked regarding it. The provisions of the Bill are of a purely tentative nature and any suggestions on the Bill in regard to both its principle and details will be welcomed by Government. The Board which it is proposed to establish would supersede the existing School-Leaving Certificate Board and would be entrusted with the task not merely of providing the preparation for University work now given in the Intermediate classes of the colleges but of developing a regular system of

high secondary training for various callings such as at present does not exist.

It is probable, I imagine, that you will appoint a sub-committee to deal with this question.

There is one misunderstanding which I desire to correct at once. There is apparently a notion abroad, I do not know how it arose, that the effect of University reform will be some contraction of English education. On this point I can reassure you at once. The exact reverse will be the case. The Government has already undertaken the establishment of Intermediate colleges at Lucknow, Fyzabad, Jhansi and Almora. I have also accepted the recommendation of the committee that similar provision should be made as soon as possible at Etawah, Moradabad, Roorkee, Ghazipur and possibly Allahabad; but much depends on your decision regarding the reorganization of this University and the separation of the Intermediate from the degree courses.

The Lucknow Christian College is taking vigorous action to convert its present fine school building and hostel into a higher secondary institution teaching up to the present Intermediate stage. The Government is prepared to render liberal assistance to private institutions which are in a position to provide higher secondary education of the Intermediate standard.

You will see, therefore, that there is no intention whatever to contract English education. On the contrary, the Government fully realizes and accepts the obligation to expand it. It is not, however, only a question of expansion. It is a question of fitting the educational system to the needs of the time. You will remember that the committees which considered both the Lucknow and Allahabad schemes recommended that Intermediate education should provide broader and more diversified studies. This, as I have already said, will involve reorganization of secondary education. The committees generally agree that classes IX and X and the two Intermediate classes should be separated off into one institution, and, where possible, this will be done, although at the outset local conditions may render desirable the addition of Intermediate classes in certain cases to existing institutions. In all cases responsible local opinion will be consulted. We have to build upon the material already in existence, and we have to feel our way. But what I want to make clear is that the Government fully realizes that though it may separate these four classes off from the high schools, it does

not mean that all their attention is going to be massed on making these four classes efficient. It will be necessary to improve the teaching services all down the line. Already a substantial increase of pay has been given to officers of the Provincial Educational Service, while increased rates of pay for members of the Subordinate Educational Service are under consideration. Liberal grants have already been sanctioned for improving the position of the staff in aided colleges. Proposals for financial assistance to aided schools in order to enable them to increase the pay of their teachers are also under consideration.

I turn now to the final point—the reorganization of the Allahabad University. I need only say in this connection that the Government has no desire to press you as to time and that the draft Bill, when it is drafted, will be sent to you for careful examination.

I see that there has been some discussion as to the Faculties for the new unitary, residential and teaching University at Allahabad. The Local Government in this connection has asked you to formulate an opinion as to whether a second Medical College at Allahabad is as yet wanted. You have been furnished with the proceedings of the Medical Council on this question.

I hope, gentlemen, I have made the position clear to you. I can assure you that the Government is really anxious to give you the best university that you can possibly have, and the Government will be liberal and, indeed, generous to existing private institutions and to the new universities. In conclusion, may I meet one possible objection, namely, that University reform may postpone expenditure on primary, secondary and technical education. This will not be so. One of the first steps that I took as Lieutenant-Governor was to take up the question of primary education and to initiate a scheme which is intended to double the number of scholars in primary schools in a few years. Large sums are also being devoted to the expansion and improvement of secondary vernacular education; while Government has recently taken up the whole question of greatly increasing the facilities for the primary education of girls. I think that you need have no apprehension in regard to our future educational policy on financial or other grounds.

Lucknow, 3rd February, 1920, Kaiserbagh.

TALUKDARS OF OUDH,

I have been this morning the recipient of an honour which I value as much as any honour that could be bestowed upon me. It is nearly thirty years since we first knew one another and now you have made me one of yourselves. I am deeply touched, believe me, by this tribute of confidence and affection, and I reciprocate and return with a warm heart the sentiments which have prompted your action.

And now I want to talk to you for a little while about the university which we hope soon to see established in Lucknow. I am going to appeal to you for funds which will make this university worthy of this beautiful and enchanting city, and through you and from this hall where so many interesting and useful movements have originated and have been supported by your generosity. I appeal to the people of Oudh to give their utmost for this beneficent project. I need not enlarge to you on the need and advantages of education, and specially of the higher education which will prepare young men for professional careers and for those openings in business and industry which we hope to see in increasing number. I will only beg of you not to neglect the education of your own children, not to fall behind in the coming race, which will be to those who are intellectually swift and intellectually strong. You occupy a great position as the natural leaders of the people and you can only keep that position in the future by education and progressive ideas. The University of Lucknow should keep you in the van of progress and enlightened prosperity. I appeal to you to be generous in giving. The buildings and equipment of the university will cost not less than Rs. 50,00,000. Let us make a great effort to raise half this sum in Oudh. Already the Raja Sahib of Mahmudabad and the Raja Sahib of Jahangirabad have promised a lakh of rupees each. Is it too much to hope that the rest of Oudh will subscribe 23 lakhs of rupees? I do not believe it. I believe that there is a general desire in all classes for this university, and knowing your generosity of old I feel confident that you will provide the money. I have also received a letter from Raja Sir Harnam Singh intimating his desire to contribute Rs. 50,000 for the endowment of a

scholarship in medical research to be called after his gallant son, Captain Kunwar Indarjit Singh of the Indian Medical Service, who gave up his life in the great war in France in November 1914. It is fitting that his name should live for ever.

You desire that this university should be called after His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, to commemorate his approaching visit to this country. I will pass on your request which is based on your traditional loyalty. In no corner of the Empire will His Royal Highness meet with more loyalty than in Oudh and amongst the taluqdars of Oudh.

Speech delivered at the Mayo Hall, Allahabad, on March 1st, 1918, on the occasion of a memorial meeting to the late Sir Sunder Lal.

This meeting has been convened at short notice and I fear that this may have caused inconvenience to some of you. But it was considered desirable that I should preside on this occasion in order to show the estimation in which the late Sir Sunder Lal was held by the Government of these provinces. As Head of that Government, I regard it as a melancholy privilege to offer my tribute to an eminent public man and a dear and valued personal friend. It is 27 years since I was first introduced to Mr. Sunder Lal, as he then was, by Mr. Charles Hill, then a well-known member of the Allahabad Bar, and afterwards a Puisne Judge in the Calcutta High Court. Mr. Hill spoke in the very highest terms of our late friend, terms as high as one man can use of another. For 27 years off and on I have known our friend, and in connection with the Hindu University movement I was thrown into close and intimate relations with him. I can only say that every year I knew him I admired him and valued his friendship the more. The sudden news of his death filled me with consternation, for I felt that I could not hope to find so good a friend again; one on whose ability and judgment I could rely so unhesitatingly, one on whose devotion to the public good I could count so surely.

I must leave it to others to deal with Sir Sunder Lal's professional attainments not only as a leader of the Bar but as an educationist, and also as a generous public-spirited citizen. From its very commencement he played a prominent part in the work of the Allahabad University, and he enjoyed the complete confidence of the Government, of the educational world and of the public. When difficulties arose, every one turned to Sir Sunder Lal. His interest in the students was maintained to the end and few know how much he did for them. For many years he was Vice-Chancellor. His work in connection with the Hindu University is well known. He never spared himself in the cause which he made his own and I am told that even in his last moments he was thinking of the future of the great nascent institution at Benares. Few men in our time have enjoyed in anything like

the same measure the confidence of the Government and the public. He realized how much could be done by co-operation with the Government and the officers of Government. He trusted and he was trusted. He had a big brain and he used it unwearingly and unselfishly for the public good. He had a big heart and saw the best in others and so carried them with him in many a difficult negotiation. He was as free as any man can be of prejudice. He had a great fund of patience. He was a past-master in the art of conciliation. Often between two opposing and apparently irreconcilable points of view he found a satisfactory middle way. His life was very busy and he always was at work ; but his judgments seemed to be always in repose, rather above the heat and strife of the hour. He had a keen sense of humour and was a delightful companion. One of his great sources of strength was that he was essentially human. But I need not enumerate his virtues further. We mourn in Sir Sunder Lal one of the most prominent citizens that these provinces have known, one whose reputation went far beyond provincial boundaries. We mourn also a personal friend whose example inspired many to try to do quiet, solid and unobtrusive work for the progress of the country and the good of the public. Many of us are feeling that we shall not see his like again. But this is not the spirit which he would have encouraged. He would say to us—close your ranks—work on ; I hope that a worthy memorial will be raised in his honour. That is his due. But let us also strive to carry on his work in the spirit and in the way in which he would have wished to see it carried on and to imitate, though we may not be able to emulate, his high example.

*Speech delivered at a meeting of Legislative Council, on March
13th, 1918.*

GENTLEMEN,

Before we proceed to the business of the day, I should like to say just a few words. I have no pronouncement of policy to make. It is ten years since I left the province ; much has happened during that period ; and there is a good deal for me to learn. I can only say this that I will try to serve my own province and my own people faithfully and well ; and that I yield to none in my eager desire to see our province foremost in well-being and in well-doing. If the able services and the loyal, kindly and resourceful people of the United Provinces combine together, much can be done. In the hearty co-operation of officials and non-officials we shall find our greatest strength.

At present, the only thing that counts is the war. All our efforts must be concentrated on assisting and promoting the victory which awaits the Allies. The more we assist, the sooner will the war be over with all its misery and loss and pain ; the sooner shall we be free to turn our thoughts and energies to other things. Our province has done its part so far. In 1917, we supplied over 45,000 combatant recruits, of which some 29,000 were enrolled after the War Board had been constituted under the energetic and skilful direction of Sir John Campbell. We have provided also over 25,000 non-combatants, the greater part of whom were enlisted under the supervision of the War Board. Subscriptions to the different funds are estimated to exceed Rs. 80 lakhs. Our Special War Fund supplied 252 motor ambulances, 33 lorries, 10 touring cars, 10 motor launches, the hospital ship "Nabha" and other services. We are supplying the army with large quantities of hay and bhoosa. The Hon'ble Mr. Watson has recently given us very striking figures of the output for war purposes of the factories of our commercial capital, Cawnpore. Our services have sent on war work 44 officers of the I.C.S., 73 officers of the Medical and Sanitary departments, 41 officers of the P.W.D., 26 officers of the Police force, 14 Educational officers and 24 from other departments. Besides, we have supplied 135 sub-assistant surgeons, over 30 veterinary assistants and about 80 Deputy Collectors and

Tahsildars. In the War Loan, we stood 4th on the list and we outstrip all provinces but Bombay in the splendid and successful effort to commemorate Our Day. This is no mean record. We must see to it that we redouble our efforts in the future.

I am naturally proud to preside over this Council. My distinguished predecessors have paid tributes to your usefulness, and I have no doubt that our debates will continue to be useful and to be directed to the material and moral advancement of the people. No differences of opinion need mar the harmony of our discussions or the effectiveness of our action. We shall, I feel sure, maintain a high standard of dignity and courtesy, realising that we all desire one end—the welfare of the province to which it is our privilege to belong.

Reply to an address presented by the Taluqdars of Oudh at Lucknow, on 10th April, 1918.

TALUQDARS OF OUDH,

I thank you warmly for your cordial welcome. I much appreciate your kindly reference to Lady Butler's absence. This will cheer her in her illness. I hope that before very long she will be able to return to India and Lucknow. I am proud to be claimed as an Oudh man and a true friend of the Taluqdars. My views on Oudh are well known. I learnt them in a good school. My immediate master and constant kind friend was Mr. Bennett whose knowledge of, and writings on, Oudh are classic. The pupil should never forget his master and I am glad to pay one more tribute to that eminent historian and friend of Oudh.

You mention many topics of public interest. I am deeply concerned with your educational problems, the development of industries and agriculture. In this as in other matters I look to you confidently for active support. I can assure you that I appreciate to the full the importance to Oudh of keeping the highest court of appeal for Oudh in Lucknow. I am closely watching the progress of the Colvin Taluqdars' School. It can count on my steadfast support. More than once I have urged on you the importance of sending your sons and relatives to that excellent institution. I have already appointed a committee to consider and co-ordinate a plan of improvement for Lucknow in order to meet the requirements of the next five years. I am deeply interested in the project for a teaching University of Lucknow and I will consider the claims of Fyzabad. These questions concerning Universities necessitate much consideration and we must get the best available advice. Nor must we forget the debt of gratitude, which for many years we have owed to the Allahabad University. I note your desires in regard to military service and the Sarda Canal. On neither point am I able at present to make any pronouncement.

Taluqdars of Oudh, you say that as a class you are proud of your loyalty to the British Government and that now as ever you will be ready individually and collectively to make every

sacrifice in the service of your Sovereign and the Empire. I believe your assurance implicitly. I have often leaned on you and you have never failed me and I know that you will never fail me now. I believe in the landed aristocracy of Oudh, the ancient and indigenous system of the province. I shall endeavour to preserve your estates, increase your prosperity and see that you play your part in what I hope will be the harmonious growth of provincial administration. Instinct and experience alike have convinced me of the value of your body. Tried personal friendships with many of you have strengthened the tie. May I as an old and true friend urge on you to fortify your position in three ways? The first is to educate your children. The second is to realize that in your tenants' prosperity resides your own. The third is to avoid dissensions among yourselves. I shall let you know from time to time how you can help the Government. At the present time you can help materially in connection with recruiting and the War Loan. You must let my officers and myself know from time to time how we can help you. I shall not fail to convey to His Excellency the Viceroy your avowal of devotion and loyalty to the Sovereign, the Empire and the British Government.

Once more I thank you for your cordial welcome to which I not less cordially respond.

Banquet speech at Benares, on 12th April, 1918.

YOUR HIGHNESS,

I thank you for your more than cordial welcome. I much appreciate your kind reference to Lady Butler who looks forward much to returning to the province which she knows and loves so well. Your Highness, if I may say so, has in a singular degree a genius for friendship, and the fact that I was connected with the constitution of the State of Benares has, I think, induced you to be more than kind towards me. Two things I must say. The first is that I deeply appreciate and value the friendship of Your Highness and your family, and that I regard you as an old and tried friend. The second is that I think the constitution of the Benares State has been a remarkably successful political act. I hear from all sides of the popularity of Your Highness's administration and of the deep interest which you take in the welfare of your subjects.

I have listened with the warmest approval to your eloquent words about the war, words for which you have already prepared by acts. Your Highness has indeed been forward in assisting the Government. I desire to take this opportunity of thanking you for what you have done. You refer to the stirring telegrams which passed between the Prime Minister and the Viceroy. You may have read the appeal which I made to the people of the United Provinces at the last meeting of the Council at Lucknow. I said then, and I repeat here, that the need of the Empire is the opportunity of the United Provinces. We only await the demands of the Government of India. I know that Your Highness will continue to do and to use your influence on others to do what is in your and their power to help to bring about a final and successful issue to this bloody struggle at as early a date as possible. May I say a word to those of little faith outside this pavilion? Dismiss as silly the rumours which you hear. In the last two days rumour has flown about that India is in present danger of invasion and so forth. I can authoritatively and most absolutely contradict these absurd rumours. They are not worth the trouble of contradiction perhaps but let that be. The arm of the Sirkar is long. The British Empire was never so strong as it is to-day. Just figure out what it has done already in this war.

But this is not the occasion nor is this the place to dwell on such topics. I shall do better to follow the commendable example of Your Highness in the matter of brevity on this hot April evening and only thank you once more for your kind hospitality and more than generous welcome. I will now ask you, ladies and gentlemen, to drink to the long life and happiness of His Highness the Maharaja of Benares and the prosperity of the Benares State.

20th July, 1918.

MR. CHAIRMAN AND GENTLEMEN OF THE AGRA MUNICIPAL BOARD,

I thank you for your cordial welcome to what you justly call your ancient and historic town. There are few towns in the world so rich in historical traditions and buildings as Agra and you have every right to be proud of your city. It is also an educational centre of no mean order. As you know, I believe in the establishment of local teaching and residential universities wherever this is possible and it is the declared policy of the Government of India. Whether the time has come to inaugurate a scheme for the institution of a local university at Agra is a matter upon which I have not at present sufficient information to form an opinion. But you may be certain that my proposal to that end will have my sympathetic consideration. I am deeply interested in every branch of education and as funds become available you will not find the Finance sub-committee or myself slow to meet the demands for this important object. I wish that the people of this province should have a real and substantial voice in determining their educational policy and with that object in view I have recently reconstituted the Board of Education, I trust that that Board will face the great problems entrusted to it in a spirit of practical statesmanship. I fully sympathise with you in your schemes for the improvement of Agra. You ask for financial support. As money becomes available, I shall endeavour to give your important city its full share. But if the Government helps you to finance schemes of improvement you must accept the guidance on technical matters of the technical advisers to Government. I say this because of one or two

matters in which the Board do not see eye to eye with the technical advisers to Government. And yet they have not equally competent advisers of their own. I want to meet the Board in every possible way. As regards your water-works, I have asked Messrs. Willmott and Verrieres to visit Agra and discuss matters personally with you. In personal conversation many difficulties and misunderstandings disappear. It is my desire that relations between you and the Government should be of the most harmonious kind. It is only when relations are of this kind that real progress can be achieved. I am going now into the various schemes of improvement and I shall leave Agra with clearer ideas of what has got to be done.

I thank you once more for your cordial address and I hope the result of my visit may be that we shall all work together as practical men, not making difficulties but shovelling them away and smoothing over differences of opinion in a practical desire to get something substantial done. I have renewed my acquaintance with the beautiful memorials which abound in Agra and I am very proud to be the Lieutenant-Governor of a province which contains so justly famous a city.

*Speech delivered as President at the Council Session at Lucknow,
on 9th April, 1918.*

GENTLEMEN OF THE COUNCIL,

I feel that I am interrupting a very artistic conclusion to this meeting. After the thunders of constitutional reforms which seemed to threaten the existence of what I suppose I must regard as the "Last of the Mohicans," we were about to part under the still small voice of juvenile indulgence in nicotine and I presume its usual sequel, nausea. But there are one or two matters that have arisen in the course of this debate upon which I should like to say a few words to you before this Council adjourns until July. In the first place, I desire to pay my tribute, as other Hon'ble Members have done, to the skill, ability and adroitness with which the Hon'ble Mr. Sim has piloted this budget through the Council. No one appreciates those qualities more than the Head of the Government who has to rely so much upon the advice of his Secretaries and of the Financial Secretary.

The next remark I should like to make is that I am very much gratified, perhaps a little alarmed, by the kind reception which so many Hon'ble Members have given me personally and by the high expectations which they have apparently formed of my tenure of office. That I am deeply interested in the welfare of the province is all that I claim. All that I ask is that I be judged by the result. The first thing a Lieutenant-Governor generally has to do is to say "No" to a great many people. The most important part of all his duties is the maintenance of law and order which, at a time of a great war like the present, is a matter of no little anxiety. It is a great comfort to me to feel that, if at any time it should be necessary to take strong action to preserve law and order, I should have the support of the great majority of this Council. Fortunately at present no such emergency has arisen or is in prospect. But the preservation of law and order is undoubtedly the first duty that I owe to this province. In this connection, I would like to make a few remarks on the question of the police. I fully appreciate, and nobody does more so than my officers, that the police are capable of improvement, that they

ought to be improved and that they are a costly force. At the same time, I think you will all realize that during a time of stress like this, it is not the best time or even a possible time to carry out any far-reaching measures of retrenchment or reform. Whether retrenchment in any case is possible I myself very much doubt. You must remember that the increases of pay which were given since the time of the great Police Commission's report have been very largely rendered nugatory by the large increases in prices since that time. Indeed, the position of the police as a whole is not so very much better in regard to pay than it was when the Commission issued its report more than 15 years ago. But I am conscious of the feeling in this Council that this is a matter which requires attention, and I can assure you that I shall go into the matter with a view to seeing if any reduction can be effected. I shall certainly take you into my complete confidence as to the result, but I cannot at present hold out any prospect that there can be any large reduction, or any substantial reduction, in the cost of the police at a time like the present, nor do I think that the majority of the Hon'ble Members will regard this as a reasonable proposition. While I have said that the police are capable of improvement, I also wish to say emphatically that in my experience they have already improved very greatly and that I am hopeful that in the future the improvement will continue. Splendid work has been done by the police throughout the difficult times of recent years. Individual officers of the police, not one or two but many, have done acts of heroism which are not less noble through perhaps less heard of than those of our sailors and soldiers which are the glory of all patriotic subjects of the King-Emperor. A very difficult task confronts our police officers who are engaged in the prevention and suppression of crime. I ask your indulgence to the few failures of the force. But I do not think that they are really more than that. Do not condemn the force as a whole for the faults, the disappearing faults, of the black sheep.

Another important topic which has been referred to is urban sanitation. A hope has been expressed that other towns than Lucknow will receive the sympathetic consideration of the Local Government. I can assure this Council that this will be the case. I may tell the Hon'ble Mr. Chintamani, who seems to feel that Allahabad is a little neglected, that I have a warm feeling for Allahabad which was my first station in India.

Education has also come under discussion. The education policy of this Government, while I am here, will be the educational policy laid down in the resolution of the Government of India of February, 1913. This is the law and the prophets as far as I am concerned, and if we can carry out one-tenths of the reforms therein indicated during the time that I am Lieutenant-Governor, I think the province will have no reason to complain. I wish to correct the impression that has been put forward in the course of this debate that the policy of Government has been to encourage expensive secondary education. That is not the policy of the Government at all. You will find the policy of the Government laid down in the resolution which I have quoted. It contemplates a policy of the improvement of education but it certainly is no desire of the Government to make higher education more expensive, still less is it the desire of the Government to check the expansion of higher education. I have already asked the Director of Public Instruction to meet others interested in this question and to frame proposals which will be submitted to the Finance Committee.

Another subject which has interested certain members of this Council is the question of Musalman education. I think it is well-known to Musalmans generally that I have always taken a large interest in the education of Musalmans. I have already asked the Director of Public Instruction whether there should not be a normal school for Muslim teachers and he is considering the question. It may or may not be a practical proposition, but at least it will have every consideration and I feel sure that in any allotment of the funds a certain amount of money will be reserved for this important subject.

In the indigenous education of the province I have always been greatly interested, whether it be that of the Pandits of Benares, or it be of the Maulvis of Deoband, or of the Patshahas, Maktabs and other schools, which form the indigenous system of the province. I hope to show my interest in this in the course of my term of office, but you will not expect me at present to make any formal statement on the subject.

What I want you particularly to feel is that the Government, although it is the government of the Lieutenant-Governor and his officers, as an executive government, is really as much your government as it is ours. We want to associate you more and more in the actual operations of the government so far as

possible. For this reason I have asked Mr. Sim to bring certain matters up before the Finance Committee which have hitherto not been referred to them. I do not believe in laying down in advance any precise procedure or any particular rules of business, nor do I think such a course practicable, until we have experience; but what I can tell you is that in the course of the next year you will find more measures referred to the Finance Committee and by degrees some system will grow up out of this experience which will, I hope, meet the wishes of a great many of you. In fact, as I have said before, I regard this as a time particularly when co-operation is necessary between officials and non-officials. That is the note of my administration. You will all have read the telegrams which have passed between the Prime Minister and the Viceroy. What is going to be the answer, what is going to be the act of the United Provinces? I say without hesitation that the needs of the Empire are the opportunity of the United Provinces. I have no doubt that in this time of trial the people of the United Provinces will sink their differences and will co-operate so as to bring their province into the position which it rightly holds by population, by history and by tradition and that is the position of the first province in India. During the course of this awful war it has been my privilege twice to visit the battle-fields of Flanders and of France. There I have seen Indian soldiers fighting by the side of the Allies as brothers and comrades in the great cause. I ask you all to drop all differences until the struggle is over, to unite as brothers and comrades in the Empire and to push the struggle to the victory, which I believe to be eventually certain and which I know to be the issue on which all that we hold most dear, freedom, justice, reforms and even the constitution, must inevitably depend. It is by our action at this time that we shall be judged in history. I have no doubt, knowing what my own province is, that the judgment of history will not go against us.

Boys' Martinière, Lucknow, Prize Distribution, 20th March, 1920.

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,

I have great pleasure in coming here this afternoon. You have referred, Mr. Garnett, to my old interest in the Martinière and to the inquiry which I conducted many years ago and which resulted, at the hands of others, in the reorganization of Boys' College. My object was to give this institution, as far as possible, the character of an English public school. I felt that your position was unique. You have endowments, a fine building, and magnificent grounds, and above all you have a tradition of your own. The Martinière boys achieved immortal fame in the defence of the Residency. Two of them, Mr. Hilton and Mr. Querros, remain. I am glad to see my old friend Mr. Hilton here to-day. He entered this institution at the age of 12 in the year 1852. What a record and example for us all. Martinière boys, too, in different walks of life have shown the grit and character which is developed in a good school with a tradition of its own. Although, therefore, I realized that the general tendency of parents was to send their children more and more to the hills for their education, I felt that the Martinière, with the advantages and the name which it possessed, could still be made a very efficient institution in the plains. The hopes that I formed some years ago have been only half realized. The teaching of Science is still quite inadequate. I say this not in a critical mood, for I fully recognize the difficulties with which the institution has had to contend. Owing to the war, many improvements have had to be put aside and it was as much as a hard-worked staff could do to carry on until the end of the war. In the circumstance, I think the staff and all those connected with the College deserve the greatest credit for good results that have been achieved. The results of the Cambridge Local Examinations are very good, in fact remarkably good. This is due to the self-sacrificing devotion of the staff. I hope that before long you will be able to carry out reforms which will place this institution on the best possible footing. Examination results are, however, but a poor test of a school. Even more important is the formation of character. (Loud cheers.) I am glad to see that

this good educational doctrine has filtered so far. You have a good record in the playing fields, and His Excellency the Viceroy has given you a magnificent challenge cup which should stimulate you further. All this is good. But you have done more than this. I congratulate you particularly on the high tribute which Colonel Stuart has paid to the efficiency and discipline of the Martinière boys in the Indian Defence Force. No higher tribute could be paid to you than this.

Turning to the report of the Girls' School. I must apologize for being ungallant in dealing with the boys first, but I have been more closely associated with the boys' school. I take this opportunity of acknowledging the pleasant and graceful exhibition of their skill in singing and club drill by the girls. I am very glad to hear how there also stress is laid on the formation of character. I am not surprised to hear how the Girl Guide Movement has helped in developing character. It is one of the most successful, if not the most successful, of modern educational movements and marks an effective revolt against superannuated and worn-out views of education. I thank Lady Scott, Mrs. Ruttledge and Mrs. St. George Jackson for their help in this movement. Although the examination results have not been very satisfactory yet the girls have done well in music and after all the formation of character is of more importance in the struggle of life than examination results.

You pay a just tribute to Colonel Birdwood who has been your doctor for many years and who has now left India for good. He will long be missed in Lucknow.

I congratulate you, Mr. Garnett, and you, Miss Woolving, on the results of the year. I trust that these results will continue to improve and that you will soon have first-rate institutions in every way. I want you, Martinière boys, to be, where you ought to be, at the top of the tree. (Loud cheers.) And I want you, girls, to be the same, or if girls should not climb trees with boys, to be top of something else. It is usual on such occasions to give advice to those who are about to enter on a wider field of life. I will follow the example of my predecessors knowing that the advice will be taken by few—for we all of us have to learn by our own mistakes. Still I will say this to you. Character and will-power and grit will enable you to hold your own in the battle of life.

Half the secret of success is to know what you want and try continually to get it. The main causes of failure in life are uncertainty of aim and object and irresolution in pursuit of them. Set before yourselves one ideal and seek incessantly to pursue it—in the words of your motto, which you have got with countless other blessings from your illustrious founder, whose portrait looks down on us this afternoon, *Labore et constantia*, which might be rendered, to borrow the great American's famous phrase "peg away." Peg away and you will succeed. It only remains for me to assure you all that I shall always be deeply interested in the welfare of the Boys' and the Girls' Martinière. It has been a real pleasure to me to come after so many years. If anything that I may have said will help any of you I shall be more than glad. I hope that on this occasion next year you may have further encouraging reports and that you may progress not only next year but in the many years that are to come.

*Speech at the opening of the Georgina McRobert Memorial Hospital,
Cawnpore, on Monday the 1st March, 1920.*

GOVERNORS OF THE GEORGINA MCROBERT MEMORIAL HOSPITAL,

I thank you for your address. I should indeed be wanting in appreciation of the noble generosity of Sir Alexander McRobert if I lost this opportunity of paying my tribute to the memory of the gracious lady of whom this hospital is a worthy memorial. I had not the honour of knowing Mrs. McRobert as you had, but I have heard much of those qualities which endeared her to you all and led you, as you say, to revere her memory. Of Sir Alexander McRobert it would be almost presumptuous for me to speak to a Cawnpore audience. He is par excellence the King of Cawnpore, and you know, and the world knows as well as I do, what he has done for Cawnpore and for the Empire. This fine hospital will meet a great local need, and as Head of the Government I thank Sir Alexander McRobert for his well-placed generosity and public spirit. Nothing has been spared to bring this institution up-to-date. In arrangements and equipment it is wholly admirable. I have great pleasure in declaring the Georgina McRobert Memorial Hospital open.

On Wednesday the 25th February, His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor invited certain members of the Improvement Committee appointed by the Local Government and of that appointed by the Municipal Board to consider the position of the scheme for the improvement of Allahabad. The following gentlemen attended :—

The Hon'ble Mr. F. J. Pert, Commissioner, Allahabad Division.

K. N. Knox, Esq., I.C.S., Collector, Allahabad.

G. P. Boys, Esq., Bar-at-Law.

Major Ranjit Singh, O.B.E., I.M.S.,
Professor Stanley Jevons.

Lala Sheo Charan Lal, Chairman, Municipal Board, Allahabad.

The Hon'ble Mr. E. A. H. Blunt, I.C.S., O.B.E., Financial Secretary to Government.

Sir Harcourt Butler opened the proceedings with the following address :—"Gentlemen,—I have asked you to meet me this morning in order to stir up the rather stagnant waters of the Allahabad Improvement scheme. I sometimes hear or see that Allahabad is neglected, that Allahabad is not treated as a capital, that other cities are favoured beyond Allahabad. Now what are the facts? In a Resolution, dated the 7th November, 1918, a committee was appointed by the Local Government to draw up a comprehensive scheme for the future development and improvement of Allahabad, more particularly in view of the impending legislation for the creation of improvement trusts in the larger cities of the province. The widest possible scope was given to that committee, who were authorized to obtain the assistance and technical advice of officers of Government and subsequently to co-opt additional members. On that committee was appointed ex-officio the chairman of the municipal board in order to keep in touch with the municipal board. That committee has, I am told, met several times but matters have not been advanced far. In November last, the chairman of the committee, Mr. Pert, Commissioner of the Allahabad Division, asked that the Town Improvement Act might be extended at once to Allahabad. The Committee, he said, felt that they constituted a serious obstruction to the good government of the city. 'Applications,' they said, 'are being constantly forwarded

to the Committee by various bodies and individuals asking the Committee for its approval, sanction, opinion, etc., and on the other hand, action is being taken on many other applications by the individuals or bodies to whom they are addressed without this Committee being consulted, action of which the Committee sometimes never hears at all, and sometimes hears too late. Even when the Committee is consulted, it is unable to give, or refuse, sanction.' In reply the Local Government pointed out that the position had been misunderstood. The Act as a whole was only intended to be applied to municipalities where it was found necessary to constitute a Trust owing to the magnitude of the improvement operations being too great for the capacity of a municipal board. In Lucknow and Cawnpore schemes had been drawn up before the Town Improvement Act had been applied. A similar scheme was obviously necessary in the case of Allahabad. Apparently, however, the municipal board had appointed its own committee to deal with the same subject and expressed its opinion that the extension of the Town Improvement Act was not required, that the municipal board could itself carry out all necessary improvements. I understand from Professor Stanley Jevons, who is chairman of the Municipal Board Committee, that some notes have been drawn up with a view to a report. I state these facts in order to show that the Government was anxious to push on the improvement of Allahabad, and that the responsibility for inaction and delay does not rest on them.

"I am still as anxious as ever to have a scheme of improvement worked out. The practical question is how to proceed. Upon that matter I desire your advice. One thing is certain. It is clearly useless to have two committees obstructing each other or eyeing each other askance and making little progress."

In the course of the discussion which followed it transpired that the Improvement Trust Committee appointed by the Local Government were under the impression that they had to work out a scheme upon the basis of the Cawnpore Improvement Trust Scheme, which went into very great detail. The Municipal Committee were also under some such misapprehension. Eventually it was unanimously decided that the best plan would be for the two committees to meet and if possible secure the services of Mr. Lanchester to advise them and consider whether they could submit a joint report by the 15th of April.

Speech at Meeting of U. P. Council.

GENTLEMEN,

Before proceeding to the business of the day, I should like to say a few words on the general situation and on matters of provincial concern.

Since I returned to the province, I have never concealed from you my opinion in regard to the War that victory was assured and that it would come before very long. The events of the last few weeks are some of the most far-reaching in history and the feeling is gaining ground that, thanks to the splendid generalship and valour of our own Armies and of the Allies, this great world struggle and world trouble is coming to an end. But we must not on that account relax our efforts. The enemy is not yet beaten, and until the enemy is beaten, we must go on straining every muscle to secure and accelerate complete and final victory. Recent provincial returns of recruiting have been creditable to all concerned. Non-combatant recruiting has been stopped ; but combatants are still required, and I hope that those who have worked so well for the sake of the King-Emperor and the Empire and for the credit of the province will see that the province more than meets the demands that are made upon it right up to the very end.

I take this opportunity of publicly acknowledging the great services which Sir John Campbell has rendered since he organized the War Board as its President. In a few days, Sir John Campbell will be ending his career as an official. He has spent 35 years living amongst and working for the people. There is no branch of administration in which he is not highly experienced. As Commissioner and Member of the Board of Revenue he rendered yeoman service to the province ; but perhaps he crowned his distinguished services as Famine Commissioner and as President of the War Board. He enjoyed the complete confidence of the services and the public. Bacon says :—" The sweetest canticle is nunc dimittis when a man hath obtained worthy ends and expectation." Pascal struck a truer note when he said :—" On ne se betache jamais sans douleur "—One never leaves without sadness of heart. Sir John Campbell can truly feel that he has obtained worthy ends

and expectations. He will carry into his retirement the goodwill and affection and admiration not only of a wide circle of friends but also of those for whom he has worked for so many years. Those of us who attended the farewell dinner given to him at Naini Tal realize how deeply he feels his parting from friends and his life-work. In many a village and hamlet and homestead in this province, the firm love of justice and sound administration of Campbell Sahib will be remembered for many years to come. On behalf of the province I thank him and bid him God-speed.

I should also like again to congratulate and thank the province for its support of the War Loan, especially the Europeans of Cawnpore and the landed aristocracy. Then, again, I wish to congratulate and thank both officials and non-officials upon having celebrated the Ramlila and Muharram festivals under conditions of great difficulty in an orderly manner. It was necessary to make elaborate preparations, and in some places there was to the last danger of breach of the peace ; but I am glad to say that by a show of force and conciliation combined actual breaches of the peace were avoided this year, and I hope that this result will make arrangements easier next year, when again the festivals will coincide. There was, unfortunately, one serious disturbance on the occasion of the Bakr-Id ; but this will be the subject of judicial proceedings, and I shall say no more than this, that justice will be done.

Then, I should like to say that we shall welcome the committees on the Reforms Scheme when they pay a visit here and I am sure that we shall all do our best to help them in their important and difficult work.

But the matters which occupy our minds to-day more than all others are the agricultural situation and the outbreak of influenza.

I want to tell the people of the province how much the Government sympathizes with them and I can assure them that the Government will keep in closest touch with them and will take all measures necessary to meet the situation. Already we are distributing 150 lakhs of advances and are considering what suspensions or remissions of revenue may be required. The Forest department has already begun to cut fodder and all other departments are ready to meet the demands that may be made upon them. Arrangements have been made for concessions on the railways for private consignments of fodder

from one part of the province to another. The failure of the rains synchronized with sudden rise in prices due in large measure to the heavy drain on foodstuffs to the western provinces. Action has been taken to neutralize this tendency so far as possible, and already there has been an appreciable fall in prices. The situation is well in hand and a Commissioner of foodstuffs has been appointed for the whole of India. May I take this opportunity of saying how glad I am to see that my friend Mr. Gubbay holds this office and that this Government is anxious to assist him as far as possible in his onerous task? While our duty to the provinces must rank first with all of us, we are none the less eager to help others as far as possible. On Saturday I visited Bareilly to examine the position as regards the Budaun and Moradabad districts and yesterday I had a prolonged conference with the Members of the Board of Revenue, Commissioners of divisions, the Director of Agriculture, the Director of Civil Supplies, the Chief Conservator of Forests, the Inspector-General of Civil Hospitals, and the Sanitary Commissioner. We came to the following conclusions as regards the situation. There has been deficiency of the autumn crop varying in different places. Mr. Hailey will give us his latest estimates of crop outturn in a few days' time. Speaking generally, the eastern divisions of the province are fairly secure, but conditions are weak in the dry belt of the province which runs through Bundelkhand and parts of the Agra, Allahabad, and Rohilkhand divisions. At present the condition of the people is good. There are none of the premonitory warnings distress. There has been some increase in local crime, but this is not altogether, or even mainly due to scarcity. Measures have been taken to deal with this. There is no wandering, no great increase in the number of beggars. There is no fall in wages due to demand for employment. In fact in most parts of the province wages are high and rising. There is plenty of employment available at present. Large sums are coming in many districts from those who have been recruited as combatants and non-combatants. The large advances have put much money into circulation. There is every reason to regard the future with hope and confidence. But we are getting prepared for any eventuality. Orders are being issued to examine the lists of village works and to look about for possible extra establishment in the event of relief being necessary. I would ask those who are ready to serve

to indicate their readiness to district officers. Grain shops have been opened and are selling grain at cost price in most of the big towns of the province. This is particularly a matter in which Indian charity has always been interested and the time is soon coming to organize private charity. In affected areas committees, if there is no rain, should soon be appointed to collect subscriptions for dealing with the local position. I have a good deal of experience in famines and was Secretary of Lord Macdonnell's Famine Commission and I have been impressed by the increasing use of private agency in successive famines, and not least in the recent scarcity in Garhwal. If we get good general rain in the course of the next month or six weeks we ought to secure a large spring crop ; it is common experience that the spring crop coming after drought is a full and valuable one. The situation is well in hand and will be closely watched. The outlook is reassuring. The people can well be of good heart and strong courage and rely on the Sirkar.

I now turn to the very serious epidemic of influenza which is causing so much suffering and loss of life in different parts of the province. It started in Spain in the month of April and six million cases are said to have occurred in that country in the month of May. From Spain it has spread over the world. It was probably introduced into India by the return of combatants and non-combatants from war areas. Colonel Mactaggart tells me that the epidemic is one of ordinary influenza similar in its nature to that which prevailed in India in the early nineties and was known as 'Russian influenza.' In his recollection that epidemic was probably as severe as the present one. He was then Superintendent of the Agra Central Prison and in the month of April 1892 there were 1,400 cases in the jail with a case mortality of about 1 per cent. In the Lucknow Central Prison in the present epidemic there have been 1,700 cases and 17 deaths giving practically the same ratio of mortality.

Considering its extreme infectiousness and its practically universal incidence, although the percentage of deaths to attacks is not large, it is now causing a large aggregate mortality and is especially fatal among the aged and those who suffer from chronic respiratory diseases.

There was a mild outbreak of the disease in the province in August and in the beginning of September, which seemed to die out but within the last fortnight there has been a severe

recurrence of the epidemic with a high aggregate mortality, in these provinces as in other parts of India.

As regards measures taken to meet the epidemic, the medical services have been drained for the War. Private practitioners have been enlisted. Everyone is working treble pressure. No fewer than 110 travelling dispensaries are now employed. They are being concentrated in cities and wherever they can be utilized most advantageously by the greatest number of people. Sometime ago the civil surgeons of the cities and large towns were asked by Colonel Mactaggart to arrange with their District Magistrates and with the Chairmen and health officers of their Municipalities for the opening of temporary dispensaries in every muhalla of towns as soon as the disease appeared in epidemic form, these dispensaries being put in charge of compounders, vaid or hakims and supplied with stock medicines. Health officers were also told to see that the location of all hospitals and dispensaries was widely advertised. Such action has been taken, or is being taken, in all cities and towns. In Lucknow and Agra the services of the students of the Medical College and Medical School have been placed at the disposal of the municipality. They are employed, for a number of hours daily, in temporary dispensaries and in visiting the sick at their homes. In this way in Lucknow, for instance, over 40 dispensaries are open. Sometime ago the Inspector-General of Civil Hospitals issued a circular to commissioners, district magistrates, civil surgeons, and health officers authorizing district magistrates to spend any money which might be required in providing medical comforts for the indigent sick, at the expense of the plague grant and Government is again drawing the attention of the district magistrates to this important matter and will give any money which may be required. I am glad to learn that the Cawnpore Municipality has given a grant of Rs. 10,000 and the Lucknow Municipality a grant of Rs. 3,000 for epidemic measures and I hope that other municipalities will follow this example. Local authorities have been directed to advise the people to avoid crowded railway carriages, theatres, cinemas, and all assemblies and to live as much as possible in the open air and also to close schools and colleges when a severe epidemic occurs in any city or town. In this connection too I would urge the importance of enlisting the services of all who are ready to help in this emergency. I sympathize deeply with the people in this new affliction. Colonel Mactaggart hopes

that it will be short-lived. It is a great satisfaction to me to know how completely Colonel Mactaggart enjoys the confidence of you all. May I say how much we all owe to the devoted labours of the very short-handed and over-worked medical staff of the province.

I will not detain you longer, gentlemen. I have spoken in order that we may face the future with resolute and reasoned hopefulness.

'Allahabad, 27th February, 1920.

MEMBERS OF THE SEVA SAMITI BOY SCOUTS' ASSOCIATION,

It is a great pleasure to me to come here this morning and see you go so successfully through your drill and exercises. I feel that the future depends so much upon the youth of the country that I am deeply interested in every movement that strengthens and develops character in the youth of the country. Remember always that the core and heart of any sound educational system is the formation and influencing of character. This great and cardinal truth has been reached only after much travail in the West. In India it still sometimes flits away to the horizon. But great progress has been and is being made. I look on the Scout movement as perhaps the most successful educational movement of modern times. On this the testimonials of parents no less than teachers is thoroughly re-assuring. It is nearly 30 years since I first came to Allahabad. I have seen great changes, great progress since then. The other day I visited a very flourishing institution, the Mussalman hostel of the Muir Central College. I had seen the foundation-stone laid 28 years before. Then people shook their heads and predicted that the residential system was not suited to and could not succeed in India. Now it is an accepted and established success which has spread everywhere. At one time some shook their heads over movements such as yours. Now you are a flourishing body. What is the lesson? Surely it is this. We must always be on the lookout for new ideas. If you look westward for educational inspiration you must incorporate and adopt western ideas and put yourselves for a time at any rate under western guidance. Be strong and of a good courage in regard to the future. Be good scouts and good girl guides and many of your difficulties in life will disappear.

I am very glad to hear your acknowledgment of the assistance and interest which you have received from various high European and Indian officials. I note particularly the help given you by Mr. Marsh Smith. I am delighted to hear of your activities in social and charitable service. His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, to whom India will soon throw out her warm heart in loyal and effusive welcome, has the proudest motto in the world—"Ich dien"—"I serve." Go on

serving. Enlarge the range of your service. No matter how small the service may seem, do something to serve your fellow-men and especially those that suffer. Truly has the poet said : "All service ranks the same with God." It is matter of great satisfaction that Indian girl guides are taking part in the proceedings this morning. This in itself, having regard to the customs of the country, is a proof of the enthusiasm which this movement has aroused. It is entirely a spontaneous movement.

I rejoice also to see that the scholars of your night schools maintained by the Seva Samiti now number eighteen, a very encouraging figure.

I thank you for your address and I wish you all good fortune and success.

Diamond Jubilee, Nawal Kishore Press, Lucknow, 10th March, 1920.

MUNSHI BISHAN NARAYAN BHARGAVA.

I am very glad to come here this afternoon. I had the privilege of knowing Munshi Newal Kishore, your grandfather. He was a man of much enterprise and public spirit. This press was the first industrial venture in Oudh. It has always been noted for the quality and quantity of its work. Munshi Newal Kishore was always ready to help Government and started a paper which always supported Government. Then I knew well your father Rai Bahadur Munshi Prag Barayan Bhargava, who was also very public-spirited and built the ghat opposite the paper mills. Your family has always been noted for its loyalty, and your press has taken its colour from your family. It has been prominent in all good work and has been a great educator of the public. It is therefore a great pleasure to me to come here this afternoon on the occasion of your diamond jubilee and to wish you, your family, and the press much happiness and prosperity in the future.

Speech at the M. A.-O. College, Aligarh, the 25th November, 1919.

TRUSTEES OF THE MUHAMMADAN ANGLO-ORIENTAL COLLEGE,
ALIGARH,

I return to Aligarh after many days, and right glad am I to do so. Although I have not often been amongst you, I have long been interested in you. As a youngster, I had the honour, and I deem it a signal honour, of meeting the illustrious founder of your college, Sir Saiyid Ahmad Khan. I remember how he impressed me then with a greater sense of bigness than any man whom I had ever met, except perhaps Mr. Cecil Rhodes. His son, Mr. Justice Saiyid Mahmud, a man of vast and capacious intellect, with a true imperial outlook, was a friend of mine until his death, and I look upon the younger generation of Sir Saiyid's descendants as hereditary personal friends. I was on intimate terms of friendship with Nawabs Mohsin-ul-Mulk and Vikar-ul-Mulk. They honoured me with their confidence and they sought my advice. I was in intimate relations with some of you when the proposal for a Muslim University was under discussion. You know that when I was Member of Council in charge of the portfolio of Education a comprehensive scheme for promoting the education of Musalmans was worked out and commended to Local Governments. You will understand, therefore, the pleasure with which I visit you to-day. I feel very much as if I were an old Aligarh student myself.

One of the great world masters of reality has told us that if you wish a State to endure, it is necessary to recall it to its original principles. This doctrine is as true of institutions as it is of States. I rejoice to hear in your address that you renew and re-inforce the policy of the great founder of this college which was :—" To educate our countrymen so that they might be able to appreciate the blessings of the British Government ; to dispel those illusory traditions of the past which have hindered our progress ; to reconcile oriental learning with Western literature and science ; to inspire in the dreamy minds of the people of the East the practical energy which belongs to those of the West ; to make the Musalmans worthy and useful subjects of the British Crown ; to inspire in them that loyalty which springs not from servile submission to foreign rule, but from

genuine appreciation of the blessings of good Government." These are notable and noble words. They are still fresh after the lapse of forty-two years. They are stamped and informed with a new meaning now that we stand on the verge of political and industrial developments which had not even been thought of in Sir Saiyid Ahmad's time. Never was there greater need for co-operation between the Government and the people of India than there is to-day. Never was there greater need to adopt constructive views and side by side with political development to meet the urgent demands of a re-organization of agriculture, industry and commerce and of an education adopted to promote them.

You have experienced vicissitudes. You have had difficulties amongst yourselves. You have had difficulties with your staff. I do not wish to dwell on these longer than to say that out of those difficulties, I do trust, a better understanding will grow up. Already there has been conspicuous improvement. Changes in the rules have been made by which, without surrendering anything essential to your authority, you have agreed to take the staff into partnership in matters in which the staff have a right to be heard, upon which in fact their advice is indispensable. It is now everywhere recognized that in regard to matters of discipline and academic life the staff of a college should be interfered with as little as possible and should be entrusted without reserve by the governing body with the control of the students and with the internal working of the institution. In an educational institution there should be a clear division of functions. The staff should be responsible for the internal discipline of the place and the governing body, while exercising control over the larger principles for which the college stands, should support them with what is necessary for the successful discharge of their duties. This is the only true educational principle. It has been emphasized again of late by the report of Sir Michael Sadler's committee. It has, I am glad to hear, been acted on by you in recent decisions and deliveries. And what is the result? The confidence of the public has returned. The college is once more full, I congratulate you on this result, and in my congratulations, I include your honorary secretary, Mr. Muhammad Ali, and your distinguished principal, Dr. Zia-ud-din.

You refer in your address to the assistance given by the Duty Society, a body composed entirely of students, which has

in the last year advanced loans to the extent of Rs. 24,000 and is concerned to introduce a system of reduced fees. This is social service of a laudable and practical kind. Aligarh has ever been known for the devotion of her students to their Alma Mater, for their proficiency in manly sports and for the *esprit de corps* which has united them in whole-hearted service of their college. I cherish the hope that these fine traditions will be zealously maintained by successive generations. You tell me of the completion of your mosque, the increase of your staff and accommodation, the organization of the schools of chemistry, physics and Arabic, and your obligation to many charitable Musalmans. One of your great reforms has been the separation of the school from the college, which is now complete. One of your greatest needs at present is a new school building. To this the Government promised a grant of Rs. 1,20,000 some years ago. In view of the greatly increased cost of building materials, I shall ask my Finance Committee to increase the grant to Rs. 1,50,000. A need of equal importance is the provision of funds for securing an increased and more efficient and contented staff and housing them conveniently for their work.

I have discussed with you, gentlemen, several matters in which improvement is desirable. You will find me sympathetic both in good-will and in grants-in-aid. Your financial condition certainly required bracing. Government helps those who help themselves, and your community has never failed in self-help and generous support of this institution. If much has to be done, much has been done. Since I visited the college and school 15 years ago the whole aspect of the place has changed.

Gentlemen, I must leave it to you to decide when will be the appropriate moment to revive that imposing and large-hearted proposal to convert your college into a university. All that I can say is that when that moment has come you will have no more active friend and supporter than myself. Aligarh must move with the times. All that has passed has led up by converging lines to the establishment of a modern teaching and residential university at Aligarh. A modern university besides concerning itself with the advancement of learning and the imparting of knowledge up to the highest standards provides courses which will fit men to enter the professions of medicine, law, engineering, and teaching and open up for others careers in agriculture, commerce and industry. I confess that my imagination is still fired at the thought of the great work of reconstruc-

tion that lies before you of the great part which Aligarh can and must play in the advancement of your community and in the modernizing and energizing of the Eastern world.

Gentlemen, before I sit down may I offer you and my many Muslim friends just a few words of sympathy and hope? Of sympathy, because you are passing through, with dignity and self-restraint, if I may say so, a period of sore trial. Of hope, because you are entering into a fuller heritage in the British Empire. Musalmans of India, I need not remind you of your glorious past, your victories in the field, your even greater and more abiding triumphs in the realms of art, architecture, science, literature, law, and all that goes to achieve the making and the writing of history. Your glorious past, I do believe, is as nothing to your glorious future. Already I seem to see growing up round this spot stately halls and busy laboratories, domes and minarets, trim gardens and shady cloisters, bursting with young life and generous aspiration, inspired throughout by the spirit of your great founder and lit up with new ideas of partnership and progress. Is this an empty vision, a disappearing dream? Shall it not be that in the days to come when men are asking what were the great deeds of this difficult time, they will point to the University of Aligarh and say—We owe this to the wisdom and foresight of those who in face of difficulties realized and grasped the cardinal essential truth that the "national regeneration" of the Indian Musalmans, to use Sir Saiyid Ahmad's phrase, must depend on more and more education, more and more co-operation and more and more partnership in the advantages and responsibilities of the Empire. Gentlemen, I shall, indeed, be happy if I live to see that day.

Supplementary speech.

GENTLEMEN,

I have already announced that I will ask the finance committee to raise the grant for the school building from Rs. 1,20,000, which has already been promised, to Rs. 1,50,000. I will also ask them to sanction half the cost of the recurring and non-recurring expenditure which is necessary to place your teaching of biology on a sound modern footing. As regards the Government annual grant to the College you state that it is Rs. 12,000 per annum only. I was under the impression that the grant was larger. I can only say at present that I will have the matter examined and that if your figure is correct I will recommend it to be increased to a more adequate figure. I will also recommend to the finance committee that the savings over the vacant professorship of Arabic should be made over to the college for purposes of general improvement. There is one matter to which I attach the greatest importance and that is the provision of good libraries. It is particularly important that new universities should start with good libraries. I will recommend a grant for this purpose on the understanding that the books should be selected with a view to forming part of a future university library hereafter.

Students, I take this opportunity of thanking you for your enthusiastic reception. Never have I received anywhere a more cordial and kindly welcome. You have conferred on me the honour of being an honorary member of the Siddons Union Club. I have also had the singular honour conferred on me of being made an honorary "old boy." I feel that in one day I have passed through the whole course of this celebrated institution. I deeply appreciate the pains which you have taken to decorate your class-rooms and the different buildings in my honour. This, I understand, has been done out of college hours and very largely out of your own pockets. I have seen you not only in the Siddons Union Club but also on your playing grounds. I shall carry away with me very affectionate personal recollections of your hearty sympathy. As a small personal acknowledgment of my sense of the privileges conferred on me I will, as an old boy, leave a sum of Rs. 1,000 to be distributed amongst your various funds. I will also

present a challenge cup next year for whatever form of athletics or organized recreation you may consider most suitable. More important perhaps than all this is the announcement which I am authorized to make that you will all be given two days' holiday in honour of my visit.

*Prize distribution at the Muir Central College, Allahabad,
12th December, 1918.*

STUDENTS OF THE MUIR CENTRAL COLLEGE,

The pressure of public life and engagements has forced me to abstain on more than one occasion from attending ceremonies like the present, not for any want of interest in them but simply because I have to economize my time. But my interest in the students of the province generally, and in those of the Muir College in particular, which I have known now for over 28 years, will not allow me to forego the pleasure of coming amongst you on this Darbar day and sharing in the festivities suitable to the occasion.

This is your college day. Since last you celebrated it you have lost one of the college's most distinguished sons, Dr. Sir Sunder Lal. Cherish his memory. He was a great man and he loved this college and was always ready to help you. Now I must congratulate the prize-winners. Those will succeed in the fierce competition of life who work hard themselves and study even harder how to work with their fellow-men. All labour is effective in proportion as it is combined with the greatest of all gifts and blessings, a knowledge of the world. This is usually acquired by one's own mistakes and an appreciation of them. Few are wise enough to take the experience of others for their guidance. The best prayer I can say for you is, May you get a knowledge of the world with as few mistakes as possible. Some training you acquire in what the Government of India has called "that most important side of education, physical culture and organized recreation." I am particularly glad to give the prizes for athletics and sports this afternoon.

When I last addressed you in August, I told you that the end of the war was in sight, though I could not then predict when it would come. It has come with the bewildering destruction of a flood; it has carried thrones and governments before it and altered the geographical and moral map of the world. The crowning victory of the Allies recalls in its completeness the action of *Nemesis* or vengeance which in the Greek tragedy stalked and struck down *Hubris* or overbearing arrogance. We have celebrated the occasion with rejoicings which were very

meet and due; but in the midst of our rejoicings we must look towards the future of a world which is undergoing, in a few weeks, changes which may be compared to the results of seismic forces in nature. The world can never be what it has been before, and although the peaceful life of Hindustan may not undergo any sudden or violent transition, yet economic and political forces have been let loose in the world which will assuredly affect all problems here. The precise forms which this dynamic influence will assume, none of us can at present foresee. We can only prepare to meet them as they come and to make the best of them for the good of India. One thing is clear. We must expect all theories that we have learnt, all shibboleths that we have uttered, to submit to profound and vital change.

I want to talk to you this afternoon on some of the aspects of the new position in which we in India find ourselves in the face of the great changes that have taken place elsewhere. In a speech which I delivered at Agra on the 18th of July last I discussed the imperial idea, its place in history, its prospects and its potentialities. I indicated the great difference that distinguished the British Empire from other empires that have existed in India. The British Empire, I said, does not rest on the idea of forcing peoples into one mould in order to form one nation. It rests on the idea of developing peoples into fuller and greater nationhood on the basis of self-government and freedom. And after a brief review of the main events of Indian history I confessed that my imagination was powerfully affected at the thought that the two great streams of Aryan civilization which parted in the mists of ancient history, to found one the Mediterranean, the other the Vedic, civilization which re-united for a short time only under Alexander, should meet once more in this ancient land and enlist in one grand imperial effort all that was best and most enduring in the ancient culture and in modern progress.

One of the chief lessons of war is the unity of the Empire. One of the chief problems of the future is to consolidate that unity by some constitutional process. At the present movement India is worthily represented by H. H. the Maharaja of Bikaner and Sir S. P. Sinha in the great discussions connected with the terms of peace. This in itself should make you reflect on the great change that has occurred in the position of India in the Empire, a change which would have appeared

outside the range of practical politics less than a generation ago. You are born to days of greater relationships than were your fathers before you. India will henceforth be an integral and honoured member of the Empire, self-respecting, with an assured prospect of the progressive realization of responsible government. Committees are working out details of the scheme of reforms and that scheme will eventually be laid before the Imperial Parliament. I beg you to accept whatever scheme of reforms may eventually be passed and to co-operate among yourselves and with the British for the development of India.

Much will depend on the attitude of the present generation. I appeal to you, with all my heart I appeal to you, to set before yourselves constructive ideals of progress instead of destructive ideals of criticism. That is the great change that we must contemplate, construction instead of criticism. Already you have made considerable advance in this direction. During the terrible epidemic of influenza, which has recently affected the province, non-official associations, including many students, have rendered sterling services in relieving suffering humanity. I cannot speak too highly of the work of the various societies, such as that recently established at Allahabad, the Sewa Samity at Agra, the Arya Samaj and others at Cawnpore and similar societies in different parts of the province. On behalf of the Government I tender you my appreciation and my thanks. In other ways in recent years you have taken upon yourselves constructive work. I remember some 20 years ago an Indian friend of mine showing me a letter from another Indian friend of his which ran as follows :—"Can you tell me what harm railways have done to India ? As far as I can see they have done good ; but they must have done harm." That was an attitude of mind not uncommon 20 years ago. To-day we think differently. It is recognized that railways and the other works of material progress have conferred enormous blessings upon India, and that Western education has laid the foundations of progress towards a greater state of well-being. There is a season for everything under heaven and now, believe me, is the season for construction. The first duty of a student is study, but you can direct your studies and your leisure to a serious preparation for constructive action.

I ask you to realize your position in the Empire, to take pride in the Empire and in the larger relationship which it offers.

The Empire is the greatest and most powerful that the world has ever seen. Let me quote to you what the President of the French Republic said the other day of Britain's part in the war :—

" It was then that to a history so rich in magnificent pages Great Britain added an incomparable chapter not only of naval and military glory but of moral strength and human greatness. She realized immediately that hostilities would be long and would demand of the British Empire the gradual formation of a powerful army and the creation of enormous quantities of material. The enormousness of the task did not frighten her in the least. She called to the work of war all her Dominions and Colonies and from one end of the world to the other the cry of love was the reply. He did not know a finer spectacle than that of peoples scattered over the face of the earth rising at the same moment with the same spirit to fly to the mother country's aid. What a noble recompense has the spirit of liberty, which has always inspired the administration of the British Empire, received in this universal fidelity ! Enlarged by all these contingents the armies of Great Britain during the war gained in experience and improved their tactics of warfare and paved the way by more and more striking successes for that marvellous series of victories which compelled the enemy to solicit an armistice." Was ever finer tribute paid by the head of one great nation to another ? In all this you now share. The Indian Forces of the King-Emperor have won undying fame for India.

I am told that the War Journal has been of the greatest interest and profit to you. It is very close to my heart to see established some form of literature which will keep you interested in and informed of imperial matters. Meanwhile, you can develop your position in the Empire by adopting a constructive policy in regard to matters of closer and more direct concern to you. There is social reform, without which you cannot get very far on western lines, and there is agriculture, which is and always will be the greatest source of wealth in India. There is industrial development; there is the co-operative credit movement ; there is the study of poverty and economics, the mitigation of disease and the spread of a new gospel of moral and material progress. In particular you can help to create a band of teachers to work as missionaries and pioneers of progress, to open up the dark places of India and to let in light and air. I said in my speech here in August that we must try and give the sons and daughters of India as good an education as we have had.

ourselves, that we must infuse new life and new spirit into the whole education machine by sending Indians home in large numbers to be trained in England and elsewhere on the latest ideas and methods of education in order to convey to India the best that can be given her and to spread abroad enthusiasm for progress. I hope that some of you may participate in some such scheme. But any such effort must be supplemented by greater local enthusiasm in the province. Then there is a matter which ought to receive more attention than it does, I mean the amusement of the people, the brightening of their lives. The belief in a mythical economic man, who was always out for gain, devoid of natural emotions, the figment of a philosopher's brain, has been the curse which has rested on the political and social and economic theories of the Victorian era. The revolt of the modern man is largely a revolt against the dullness of his life and the dullness of his surroundings. In Native States they have processions, wrestling matches, meetings and similar amusements which interest the people and give them topics of conversation outside their hard and humdrum lives. This may appear a small thing to you, but, believe me, very large issues in the future depend on whether we can brighten the lives of the peoples now. Ponder this. It is a big thing not thought out.

When we celebrate peace, let us bear this consideration in mind ; and after peace let us all of us try, when occasion offers, to take part in any movements which will brighten the lives of the people. In all this you can help. It is such social services rather than professional accomplishments which the judgment of history will record in grateful recognition, and it is doctrine of service and of self-dedication that appeals perhaps more forcibly than any other to young India, as I have seen it in my time. That was the doctrine which my late lamented and venerated friend Sir Gooroo Das Banerji preached so eloquently and so often to the Students' Institute in Calcutta, where I used to go from time to time to meet my student friends. The Government will do all it can to help you ; but the effort for the regeneration of India must come from the sons and daughters of India, and I am one of those who believe that in time it will come.

Young men, I do not conceal from you that you will have great difficulties to encounter, the inevitable difficulties that dog new adventures, a social system adverse to change and calculated to sap enthusiasm and enterprise, the persistence of old ideas, vested interests and all that goes to favour inaction. But

you must not lose heart. If you discipline yourselves and persevere you will prevail. There may be periods of depression, periods of anxiety, periods when you are troubled and your spirit is overwhelmed. But I charge you never to falter or despair. Hold high the banner of progress. Remember the dark days of the war and the final triumph. Remember the strong consoling words of the Psalmist—"And I said, This is my infirmity; but I will remember the years of the right hand of the Most High."

Council Meeting, Lucknow, 16th December, 1918.

GENTLEMEN,

I shall have great pleasure in conveying to His Excellency the Viceroy this resolution which has been moved and supported by such eloquent speeches this afternoon. I think it very right and proper that such a motion should have been proposed. His Majesty the King-Emperor has rained goodness and countless blessings and high example on all his subjects. Amidst the crash of thrones and the breaking of empires the British throne is established more surely than ever before. In no part of the Empire is there a deeper devotion to the throne than in India. I make bold to say that in no part of India is there deeper devotion and loyalty than in the ancient land of Hindustan.

I thank you gentlemen, on behalf of Government, I thank the province for what it has done to assist in bringing about this glorious ending to the greatest war in history. There has never been a greater struggle and there has never been a more signal, triumphant and overwhelming victory. The resolution very rightly refers to the glorious achievements of His Majesty's land, naval and aerial forces. One of the foremost thoughts in our minds on such an occasion as the present must be the thought of those who have given up their lives for their country and their empire. We stand in spirit barehead by the graves who have fallen, those strong heroic lives we mourn for, those who have been taken away. We mourn also for those who have been left, the widows and the orphans, whose cry has now for over four and a half years daily and almost unceasingly gone up in appeal to God. We must think also of those who have given their limbs, their health, their sight, their reason, even all that makes life endurable and have to live broken, mutilated lives in order that we may enjoy freedom and material prosperity. They, too, are uppermost in our thoughts to-day. To them too we offer gratitude and admiration.

THE DEBT TO INDIA.

A hope has been expressed that in the flush of victory the British people will not forget what they owe to India. Indeed

the fear has been expressed not only in this Council Chamber but elsewhere that in some way the British people will endeavour to go behind the pledge of the 20th August, 1917. I consider any such fears to be quite unnecessary and superfluous. It is true that there are differences of opinion amongst Englishmen as there are amongst Indians in regard to particular proposals for giving effect to that pledge but not one responsible statesman in England has ever made any statement departing from that pledge or from the realization that that pledge has got to be fulfilled. The leading statesmen of England have quite recently reinforced that pledge in election addresses. It is not the way of the British people to break their word, and it is certainly not likely at a time like this when all this blood and treasure has been spent for the assertion of a high principle that the British Parliament will depart from the solemn statements of His Majesty's Government.

Darbar at Lucknow, 19th December, 1918.

The Allies have won the greatest victory in history. The enemy are crushed. Their armies have withdrawn or surrendered. Their navy has been handed over under conditions of the utmost defeat and humiliation. The British Empire is stronger than it has been. It is the strongest thing that the world has known. India has her well-earned share, her rich share in all this greatness, all this glory. All honour be to whom all honour is due, the naval, land and aerial forces of the Empire and Allies.

I am here this afternoon to distribute khillats, titles and rewards to those who have rendered signal services on the Civil side in the great war. I have little that is new to say to you, but I cannot be silent lest I should appear unappreciative of what has been done. It is not an occasion for any demonstration of self-satisfaction. It is an occasion for thankfulness that we have been permitted to help. It will give you some idea of how our operations have expanded when I tell you that before the war we raised some 1,500 combatant recruits a year in the province, while in 1918, up to the 20th November, we raised 96,286 combatant recruits. The great expansion took place when the War Board was created and Sir John Campbell applied his large local knowledge, industry and ability to the problem with results so conspicuously successful. In the month of October 1918, the United Provinces stood first among the provinces in regard to the recruitment of both combatants and non-combatants.

Until 1917 the fighting classes of the United Provinces were assumed to be Brahmans, Rajputs, Hindustani Muhammadans, Jats and Garhwalis. Efforts were made to broaden the bases of recruitment with marked success in the case of the Ahirs, Kumaun Rajputs and hill Brahmans. Special double companies for the various classes of Ahirs were formed in three different regiments and in all about 9,204 Ahirs were enlisted as combatants during the past 17 months. A number of Kumaunis were already serving in the 39th Garhwalis and in October 1917 the formation of a Kumaun battalion was sanctioned. This battalion was overful by May 1918 and the 2/50th Kumaun Rifles was formed in June 1918. The gallantry

of the Garhwalis during the war is a matter of universal knowledge. We are very proud of them. We are very proud of all the brave men, who fought so well in France, Macedonia, Palestine, Mesopotamia, Persia, Africa and in every theatre of the war. Where all have done so well it seems invidious to particularize, but the Meerut division comes first, Agra division second and the Rohilkhand division third in the list.

The number of non-combatants supplied by the provinces has throughout been a long way ahead of the number which we were called upon to supply and of the number recruited in other provinces. In addition to free labourers and followers the provinces have furnished 3,768 volunteer convicts who are reported from Mesopotamia to have done much good work. Numerous reports of the excellent work done by the United Provinces Labour Corps have been received. It may be mentioned that the 70th Kumaun Labour Company working in combination with the 90th British Labour Company and with B. Company, 2nd Canadian Railway troops, easily beat all records for railway track-laying in France. The General Officer reporting on the feat remarked that "this splendid imperial co-operation adds a unique feature to the performance which reflects the greatest credit on all concerned."

In addition to recruits, the province has also supplied numerous civil officers for military duty. In fact the staff in every department has been denuded to help the military authorities. The police battalions have also been formed.

Hay and bhoosa operations have been actively carried out and the Forest department supplied a vast quantity of sleepers and other timber for military purposes. The jails have provided over 80,000 blankets besides durries and other articles. The mills at Cawnpore have been working day and night.

In the two war loans the province subscribed altogether well over 10 crores of which Cawnpore contributed 2½ crores. The United Provinces Special War Fund amounted to Rs. 33,00,000, the Imperial Indian Relief Fund Rs. 18,25,000 and the "Our Day" Fund to well over Rs. 20,00,000. The Red Cross work represents about Rs. 8,00,000 and the Y. M. C. A. in response to two special appeals received Rs. 1,00,000 in 1917 and Rs. 1,40,000 in 1918. The Silver Wedding Fund which is still open has up-to-date received about Rs. 75,000 while the province has paid over Rs. 3,00,000 to the Lady Lansdowne's Fund.

An active campaign of publicity has been organized. I take this opportunity of paying one more tribute to the genius, energy and resource of Dr. Garfield Williams, and his coadjutors Pandit Satyanand Joshi, Mr. Ingram and Mr. Armour, and all those others who have joined in this great effort to bring correct information about the war right down to the homes of the people in the country.

I am proud of my province and I thank you all for what you have done. I believe that this war-work has brought us all together in a way that we have never been brought together before. There is more provincial patriotism now than ever before. Let us build on this. Let us continue to work together on a good understanding with one another, making allowances for our inevitable differences but realizing the unity of the Empire and eager that India should have her due place in it, and that this province should be foremost in imperial aspiration and achievement.

MR. PRESIDENT AND MEMBERS OF THE AGRA PROVINCE ZAMIN-DARS' ASSOCIATION,

I am very glad to meet you and to receive your loyal address... It is indeed a time for great rejoicing and thankfulness. I am glad also to hear the history of your Association and to applaud its guiding principle which you say has been "to co-operate with Government in devising means for the peace, prosperity and good government of the country." I shall be proud to be your patron and can promise you my most sympathetic interest.

You have referred to the question of reforms and have asked that your community should be given adequate representation commensurate with its importance in the Councils. Without committing any breach of official propriety, I may say that your community will have a powerful influence and representation in the electorate proposed by my Government and placed before Lord Southborough's committees.

Gentlemen, I have been now for 25 years a strong advocate of the cause of the landowner. I believe that the landowners are still the backbone of the country. It was on the landowners that we have had to rely in our recent demands for men and money, and it is on the landowners on whom we shall have to rely for progress and public spirit for many years to come.

There are two matters in which your Association is interested. The first is the Settled Estates Bill. This I took up soon after my arrival and have since made proposals to the Government of India, whose reply is awaited. The other is the revision of the Agra Tenancy Bill, on which you have not yet submitted an opinion. I do not propose to take any further action in this matter until the agricultural situation improves.

I ask for your help in meeting the present situation in any measures that may be necessary should prospects get much worse. Government has distributed large sums in advances to the tenantry and is considering suspensions of revenue. The more wealthy and prosperous landowners should be able to give out advances to their own tenantry and exercise leniency in the collection of rents. Should relief be necessary later on, I shall ask your assistance in forming lists of persons for gratuitous

relief and in constructing aided works. Such works will keep your tenantry together and prevent the dissipation of agricultural labour. Government will ordinarily pay half the cost. There are at present no signs of distress, but we must be prepared for any eventuality. It is all important to be ready and undesirable to be too soon with relief. At present it is difficult to get labour. This is partly due to influenza and the situation may change. I rely upon you also as an intelligence department of the administration to give my district officers timely information of what is going on.

There are other matters in which I ask your help and those are by enjoining your tenants to economize the use of canal water, by using your influence with traders in your villages not to withhold their stocks from the market but to sell them at reasonable rates, and by encouraging surplus labour to seek occupation in centres where labour is wanted, such as Cawnpore. This is also a time when landowners should themselves undertake the construction of masonry wells in areas where such wells are not adequate in number and should also give permission freely to their tenants to construct such wells as well as to help them with advances to this end. Government will be ready to give advances under the Agricultural Improvements Loans Act and landowners will be benefiting their estates by encouraging their tenants to take such advances by standing surety for them.

I ask you, gentlemen, to realize the importance of educating your sons and specially of giving them agricultural education. The Agricultural College at Cawnpore has been remodelled and now imparts a sound practical training. With the restoration of normal times, I hope that you will devote yourselves wholeheartedly to the improvement of agriculture. In this you can set an example to your tenants. Many of you have already taken much interest in the improvement of agriculture and have helped the Agricultural Department in distributing good seed and popularizing improved methods; but there still remains a very great deal to be done in this direction. As you are aware, this Government has put forward and financed a policy for a large increase in primary education during the next three years. I earnestly hope that you will all assist in this work, which must be for the good of the country in the long run. It lies with you to forward this movement to a large extent by giving lands for schools, by lending build-

ings, by aiding schools, by giving away prizes, by inspecting and taking interest in schools and by encouraging your tenants to send their children to schools. You can do great things to help forward this important movement, and this is only the beginning of a big campaign which we must wage against ignorance. It is my most earnest desire that the Agricultural Department should be in the closest touch with you and that the Department and your tenants should all be working together to get the maximum outturn out of the land and the maximum area under cultivation. I hope that we shall soon have a Board of Agriculture in which you will be represented, and I can assure you that any proposals from you to stimulate agricultural improvement will have the keenest support of my Government. We have got to uplift India to her proper place among nations and one of the best ways to do this is to increase her agricultural efficiency. On that her wealth and well-being in the main depend.

I thank you again for your welcome. I thank you for all you have done in recruiting and in war loan work. There are some of you who have received remissions of revenue ; others have received other forms of reward ; many must go unrewarded I fear ; but their work has not been forgotten. I congratulate you on the result of four years' work in bringing the landowners of the province of Agra closer together and I wish you all success in your future efforts towards this end. I hope that now that the war is over you will provide the funds for a suitable building. Until you have a building of your own you can hardly expect to be regarded as a permanent institution. Get your building and fix your numbers and become a real corporate body.

Once more, gentlemen, I thank you.

Benares, 10th February, 1920.

GARDEN PARTY GIVEN BY THE RANI OF BHINGA.

I have come here this afternoon in order to pay a tribute of respect to the Rani Sahiba of Bhinga, the enlightened and public-spirited widow of an enlightened and public-spirited man, my late friend the late Rajarshi Raja of Bhinga. The late Raja was one of the most clear-sighted and acute-minded of his generation. He realized before others realized the enormous importance of education for his own community, the great Kshattriya community, and he made a princely endowment of the Kshattriya school, which bears his name and that of my distinguished predecessor, Sir John Hewett. The Rani Sahiba has followed his high example in subscribing no less than six lakhs of rupees for the Kshattriya college which is soon to come into being. All honour to the names of these generous benefactors of their own people and patrons of education. I deem it a high privilege to be able to convey to the Rani Sahiba on this occasion the Gold Kaisar-i-Hind medal which has been bestowed upon her in recognition of her wise liberality.

Indian Reforms, the Imperial Idea, and Provincial Progress.

Public Meeting at Meerut, 15th July, 1918.

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,

This is my first official visit to Meerut as Lieutenant-Governor. I am glad that my rains tour should commence in a division so prosperous and so important both agriculturally and from the recruiting point of view. The main object of my tour is to meet you, to discuss with you what you have done for the war, and to devise methods for securing better results.

There has undoubtedly been great progress since the War Board was constituted and the province owes much to Sir John Campbell, the War Board and all the workers in the good cause. First, as regards recruiting. I am told that the returns for last month were the best recorded up-to-date, and that for the whole province we have reached the figure of over 7,900* combatants against a demand of 10,000. We have also been told that the quality of our recruits has been good. This is so far satisfactory, but the fact remains that we are over 20 per cent. short of the allotted demand and that it behoves all of us to strain every muscle to make good that shortage. This division has actually recruited 13,276 combatants in the year ending on the 30th June out of a total demand of 17,500. Bulandshahr and Meerut head the provincial list for the recruiting of combatants. They had the advantage of starting with a wide and old-established connection with the Army. But they did better in the latter half of 1917 than they did in the first half of 1918. In Muzaffarnagar there was an actual falling off after a good start. The Commissioner writes :—" It cannot be concealed that the division has not made that progress in recruiting which was anticipated at the time of Sir James Meston's darbar of November 1917. In Bulandshahr certainly the reason is to be found in the severe epidemics of plague and relapsing fever which visited the district. In Muzaffarnagar the reason suggested for the falling off is that recruits were purchased from special recruiters and competition having raised the price a number do not now care to compete." He adds—" As a class the smaller zamindars of Muzaffarnagar have been working

* In July 14,281 combatants were recruited.

loyally in assisting recruiting parties and not trying to secure recruits to their own credit. In Saharanpur the labour dépôt outbids the combatant recruiter. In Dehra Dun only a small portion of the men recruited are credited to the district as they are residents of other parts."

Some or all of the above circumstances have been in various degrees contributory causes to the falling off. The promised increase in the sepoys' pay will, I think, be of more benefit than vicarious rewards and it seems a pity that its announcement is delayed.

You must recognize at once that this being a case of military necessity no explanations can be valid excuses. We are simply bound to obtain by some means or other the number of recruits required. If we cannot obtain them by the present methods then we shall have to consider by what methods they can be got. But I feel confident that if all the loyal people of the Meerut division will lay their heads together and if the committees which have been appointed put out every effort, we shall with the present methods obtain the number of men required. I look to you, people of the Meerut division, to answer the call that is made upon you in full and even to endeavour to do better than that call, thus proving to the whole province and to the world the determined loyalty of your division.

Having drawn attention to the inadequacy of the figures, it is only fair that I should mention those who have worked hard to secure the desired result. Among classes, the Jats of Meerut and Bulandshahr and the Rajputs of Bulandshahr have done well, especially the Jats of Bulandshahr, who had over 40 per cent. of their young men of military age in the Army on the 1st January, 1918. Among individuals, I may mention Rai Chaudhri Amar Singh Bahadur, O.B.E., of Pali, Jamadar Kushi Ram of Bulandshahr and Chaudhri Ghanshyam Singh of Muzaffarnagar. My thanks are due to the district staff generally and to Messrs. Mumford and McNair in particular, and also to others who have helped conspicuously. A suitable opportunity will be taken of publishing a list of those who have rendered good service to Government. It is not possible to reward all in the same way, but I trust that good work will not go unnoticed. There has been some delay in rewarding work in the past owing to the difficulty of getting khillats, etc., ready in time. I propose to hold a darbar in the cold weather at Lucknow for the distribution of these rewards.

As regards the war loan, I am told the division on the last occasion subscribed 54½ lakhs. I trust that you will be able to make considerably larger investments this time. I have not pressed you hitherto, because I did not feel that the time was very suitable. Many rumours were in circulation, very foolish rumours too, with which I may deal on some other occasion. I may mention that I have received advance copies of the United Provinces War Journal to which I wish a useful career. The time has now come when we must make a big effort, and I want you to feel in every division of the province and in every district of the division that the reputation of the province depends on its position in the list of provinces in regard to the war loan. I do not think that I shall appeal in vain to the patriotism of the province, to the patriotism of the Meerut division in particular, and to the patriotism of the leading men in it. We must help with manpower and we must help with money. That is our share of the sacrifice involved by this war and our bounden duty.

There is another way in which we can help. You land-owners on your own farms and by your tenants can largely increase the area sown under wheat during the next rabi. The Director of Agriculture has issued a leaflet on the subject which is now being widely circulated. He has received letters in response to his leaflet from landowners and tenants. The agricultural department will help with seed of improved varieties and revenue officers have been given instructions to give advances liberally for the purchase of seed or cattle and also for irrigation. The irrigation department will also take special measures for providing facilities of water-supply in wheat areas.

There is another matter which I must bring to your attention. As you know, rupees have been hoarded or melted down. The purchase of silver abroad is a very expensive arrangement owing to its high price, and the money spent on this is not available for war work. In every civilized country since the beginning of the war the use of coin has been economized. In Japan, for instance, very small notes are in circulation. I go so far as to say that the extent to which a country economizes metal coin is the test of its progress and civilization. The melting down of rupees is a very serious offence, and I have instructed prosecuting officers to press for the extreme punishment in every case. Hoarding is a foolish and bad practice and I urge you to use your influence to prevent it. I ask you all to encourage the use of currency notes. Currency notes are legal payment for

private debts and are accepted at their full value by Government. It is an important patriotic duty to encourage economy in the use of coin in time of war.

I need not say more about man-power or the war loan, but I have a few more words to say to you. I propose in the course of my present tour to deal in a spirit of hopefulness and, I trust, of helpfulness with some of the problems which have arisen out of this war. This afternoon I shall speak to you about the scheme of reforms which has just been published. It is early yet to appreciate fully the reception of that scheme. Some are favourable to it, a few seem hostile, many are reserving their opinion. You will not expect me to offer any opinion on the scheme itself. What I want to do is this. I want to impress upon you the enormous difficulties which beset this question of reforms. It is enormously difficult to graft the ideas of western democracy on to an ancient social system of which a prominent feature is the institution of caste. It is enormously difficult to harmonize the aspirations of a modern industrial empire with the aspirations of an essentially spiritual and conservative land like India. It is enormously difficult again to devise a scheme which will suit the diverse masses of languages, opinions, creeds and religious differences which go to make up India. But no difficulties have deterred or stayed His Majesty's Government and the Government of India. They have declared in the most unequivocal terms that there must be a real step forward in the direction of responsible government. The Secretary of State and the Viceroy have sought and heard opinions throughout the length and breadth of the land from representatives of every class. They are in possession of an amount of information which no one else in India has. Whatever may be thought of their definite proposals, it must be admitted that never before has any enquiry been conducted with such anxious care to ascertain the wishes of the diversified and heterogeneous peoples of India. It is the duty of every man in this province who takes interest in public affairs to give this scheme the fairest possible consideration and I believe that they will do so. They may want some details altered, they may want this or that proposal modified, but they will, I believe, lay their heads together in a spirit of constructive statesmanship and seek through co-operation and compromise some adequate solution of the problem. I regard it as absolutely essential that we should work together, because if this scheme fails or is rejected we shall

have to face a situation which will be difficult and delicate and might deteriorate. But I need not dwell upon this contingency specially in this province. If you believe, as I think you must believe, that the Secretary of State and the Viceroy have made an earnest and honest, and, may I add, a very able endeavour to deal with this difficult problem, then I beg you to go out and meet them half-way, to put aside any preconceived ideas, to throw off catch-words and phrases, to stick closely to things and not to words, and to concentrate your thoughts on the future well-being of India. We have seen how precarious and perilous has been the course of reforms in China, in Persia, in Turkey, and now in Russia. May I quote to you the saying of an able Chinese statesman ? "To speak in a parable : a new form of Government is like an infant, whose food must be regulated with circumspection if one desires it to thrive. If in our zeal for the infant's growth we give it several days' nourishment at once, there is small hope of its ever attaining manhood."

It seems to me that there are three cardinal conditions of healthy reform. The first is that any reform must be a real reform and must not be put out of shape and substance by too many safeguards, checks and counter-checks. This is a canon of moral strategy. Reform must not be afraid of itself. The second condition is that any scheme of reforms in India must bear some relation to the reforms of the last fifty years. You have been told that the Minto-Morley reforms were doomed to failure and have failed. With all respect to those who hold this view, I must say that this is not my experience as Vice-President of the Imperial Legislative Council, as Lieutenant-Governor of Burma and as Lieutenant-Governor of the United Provinces. In my experience, and this was the expressed opinion of Lord Hardinge, the Minto-Morley reforms have been successful. They have been a valuable training to Indian politicians and have prepared them for another forward move. The executive government has been far more influenced by the discussions in Council than is popularly imagined and the debates have been maintained at a really high level. Occasionally time has been wasted. Occasionally feeling has run high. Of what assembly cannot this be said ? I was led to believe that in our Legislative Council I should find a spirit of opposition and hostility to Government. I have found on the contrary a responsive and reasonable spirit. Indeed, I go so far, gentlemen, to say that it is the very success of the Minto-Morley reforms that makes

me most hopeful in regard to the future course of reform. The third condition is that any scheme of reform that can hope to reach maturity must fit in with the general administrative system of the country. It is often not realized how exceedingly ancient and powerful that administrative system is. The British found it in being in India. Its roots go down to the time of Asoka. Remember that in the Eastern Roman Empire a system of scientific and bureaucratic organization, animated by ideas very different from ours, kept back the tide of invasion from Europe for many hundred years. Only when you disturb an administrative system can you realize how far its tentacles have spread. I know there are some who think that all evils will come to an end if only democracy is substituted for bureaucracy. I ask them to think what things they mean when they use these terms. Except in the smallest communities, such as the city state, democracy never has meant, and never can mean, direct government by the people or an electorate. Every modern democracy is dependent even in times of peace for its successful working on the services of a body of trained administrators ; and the need for such services tends to become greater rather than less with the growth and extent and complexity of the State's activities. In France, in America and in England this truth is more and more realized and acted on.

Not least important is the spirit which animates and informs discussion. No reform can be achieved without some rise in political temperature. That rise may be greater now owing to the prolonged strain of the war. Let us see things clearly and quietly. Let us approach the scheme of reform with a desire to make the best of it. I can assure you that this Government will assist you in all reasonable endeavours to secure political, industrial and educational progress. I have already instituted a reform which I believe to be far-reaching and beneficial. I refer to the reconstitution of the Finance Committee of the Legislative Council. They now meet monthly and the more important schemes of provincial expenditure are referred to them for advice, and great importance is attached to their advice. This reform may be swallowed up in larger schemes but it is an important and encouraging commencement. I entreat you, with all my heart I do not entreat you, to keep up hope. You have a proverb—"Dunya umed par qaim" "The world rests on hope." Be sure of this that a great responsibility rests on anyone now who is in a position to influence opinion, whether on

a large or small scale, to create and develop an atmosphere of large progressive hope. You will not find the officials of this province unready to meet you half-way. Let us work together. Faith and action and the future is ours !

Public Meeting at Agra, 18th July, 1918.

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,

I am glad to meet you here this afternoon. I indicated at Meerut the other day what was the main object of my rains' tour, namely, to see what could be done to increase the number of recruits, to press the war loan and to help in other ways to meet demands that are made upon us. You stand second in the province in recruiting, but you are still short of the demands made upon you by over one-third. You are required to supply 15,000 combatants and you have actually enlisted only 9,695. The division has no doubt been greatly handicapped by relapsing fever this year ; but, as I said at Meerut, no explanation can be an excuse in the presence of military necessity. We have simply got to provide men. That is the beginning and the end of the matter. If our present methods are not sufficient, we shall have to devise new ones. But I am confident that the people of the Agra division will by their strenuous efforts make the adoption of such a course unnecessary. Aligarh and Etah have done best in the division ; especially the latter, considering how far behind it was at the beginning of 1917. Muttra has been coming on rapidly in the last month or two. The Jats of Aligarh and Muttra and the Rajputs of Mainpuri have done well. The Ahirs are coming on well for a new caste, thanks to the work of the Ahir Kshattriya Mahasabha.

In the last war loan, the division was responsible for some Rs. 57 lakhs, of which 37 lakhs were in the main loan and 20 lakhs in the Post Office section. I hope that all districts will show great improvement in this war loan. I cannot say too often that on our success in this war loan depends the honour and reputation of the province. You must see to it that the United Provinces takes its rightful place among the leading provinces of India. But while I must ask you to make these fresh efforts I do not wish to appear ungracious or unmindful of the good work that has already been done.

Amongst individuals, I must mention the Raja of Awagarh, 2nd-Lieutenant Rao Bahadur Bhagwant Singh, and Rai Raj Bahadur Sahib, who has thrown up his practice as a vakil and devoted himself to war work with great success. I must also thank the district staff and others who have worked hard. I

cannot mention their names to-day, but will see that a record of their good work is published. As at Meerut, I must appeal to the landowners and tenants to increase the area under wheat cultivation. In this way you can help the Government to win the war. Also you can help very effectually by stopping the practice of hoarding coin and melting down rupees and also by encouraging the use of paper money which every civilized country uses increasingly.

So much for the immediate work of the war. I said at Meerut the other day that during this tour I should discuss certain questions of general interest arising out of this war. Standing here in the world-famous city of Moghuls, rich in monuments and memories, and yet instinct with modern life, I propose to discuss the imperial idea, its place in history, its prospects and its potentialities to-day. I appointed a committee in Burma, under the able presidency of my friend, Sir Bertram Carey, to consider how best to propagate the imperial idea in schools and colleges. Their report, which was made public, attracted some attention at the time both in England and in America, but it attracted comparatively little attention in India. I was not surprised. The idea is not familiar in India; the phrase itself is vague and indefinite. Sir Bertram Carey's committee understood it to denote a sense of the unity of the empire, the nations and peoples composing which, despite diversities of creed and race, are bound together by common principles of justice and right, and find within the empire by self-sacrifice and co-operation the best means of national self-development. Of this idea the King-Emperor is the personification and the flag the symbol. I commend this to your notice, merely adding that self-government is an inevitable expression of self-development. And now let us take a glance at history.

If you study history, you will find that the empires of the past have been founded on the idea of assimilation, of forcing human material into one mould in order to form a nation. This process has not been accomplished in India owing to the diversities of her races and culture, her geographical position, her climate and, until recently, her want of communications. India has thrown up dynasties of her own which ruled over considerable areas for a considerable time—the Maurya dynasty with the immortal names of Chandra Gupta and Asoka; the Gupta dynasty which in the 4th and 5th century held sway over

considerable parts of Northern India and the Deccan; the Rajput kingdoms, which waged war with one another and with the Moslem ; the Mahratta power, which spread over large parts of India during the break-up of the Moghul empire. The Rajput kingdoms survived in limited areas, but other dynasties succumbed to the invaders from the North-West of India—Timur, the Moghuls, Nadir Shah, and others. The Moghul empire survived for $3\frac{1}{2}$ centuries but after two centuries its power had begun to decline. Then came the British who have slowly but steadily built up new conditions: Why should the British succeed where others have failed? Why should not history repeat itself? These are questions which may well be asked. The answer is this. The British empire stands alone in one respect in India. It has not rested and does not rest on the idea of forcing people into one mould in order to form a nation. It rests on the idea of developing people into fuller and greater nationhood on the basis of self-government and freedom. Also it has the grand and crowning advantage of sea-power behind it.

Looking to the past history of India, I can say it is only by becoming part of an empire based upon the theory of independent national development as part of a great community of nations that India can effectively work out her destiny, and that not by denationalising the peoples, races and languages which compose her but by striving after common grounds of unity. India has now been given an honoured place in the diffused but mighty British empire. I ask you all and especially the younger generation to reflect what vast opportunities this opens up for India. The process must be slow but the goal is clear. Europeans and Indians must be, as I described them many years ago, brothers before the altar of the empire. Surely the time was never more hopeful for a great move forward. Much has been accomplished by Western education, by the ideals of liberty, freedom and responsible government, by the integrating influence of loyalty to a single King-Emperor, by peace, by improved communications, by a uniform system of legislation and legal procedure, by the encouragement of local self-government and by economic and industrial advance. Much remains to be done before the imperial idea is fully realized. But the idea gives hope, as nothing else does, for India's future. It was the expression of the imperial idea which led to the pronouncement by the Secretary of State of 20th August last, one of the great pronouncements in history, in favour of the gradual

realization of responsible government in India as an integral part of the British empire. The first instalment of that great promise is now under consideration. I am one of those who believe in the destiny of India. But we have to lead the rising generation to take fresh ideals of self-government.

The privilege of membership in an empire carries with it corresponding duties. Privilege and duties must cement community of interests. Let India give to the empire her deep spirituality; let the empire give to India a share of her practical experience and wisdom. When we reflect on what has already been done by British and Indians together, we may reasonably hope that India, in the empire, will work out her great destiny. For my part I confess that my imagination is powerfully affected at the thought that the two great streams of Aryan civilization which parted in the mists of ancient history, to found one the Mediterranean, the other the Vedic civilization, which re-united for a short time only under Alexander, should meet once more in this ancient land and enlist in one grand imperial effort all that is best and most enduring in ancient culture and in modern progress.

Public Meeting at Lucknow, 26th July, 1918.

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,

You know my attachment to the province of Oudh. It is a disappointment to me to find that the Oudh recruiting figures are still so poor. The demand for the Lucknow division for the year ending the 30th June, 1918, was 13,500 and the actual recruitment was only 5,643. That for Fyzabad was 20,000 and the actual recruitment was 6,344. There are difficulties, no doubt, in recruiting in Oudh, but we cannot allow the existence of any difficulties to impede the fulfilment of the demands of our King-Emperor for the empire. People of Oudh, you must be up and doing. You must pull your weight. You must not rest until you have got the numbers required. I believe that you have now commenced a determined effort to make good your shortcomings. The last returns are more encouraging. Unao and Lucknow are doing better; and I am pleased to see that Sitapur, my own particular district, has come on well and has worked up to its original, though not its revised demands. This is in a large measure the result of the efforts of my oldest friend in Oudh, the Raja of Mahmudabad.

As regard the war loan, the Lucknow division raised about 71 lakhs on the last occasion, of which 41 lakhs were in the main loan and 30 lakhs in the Post Office loan. Lucknow district heads the list with $37\frac{1}{2}$ lakhs and Hardoi is second with $10\frac{1}{2}$ lakhs, of which $7\frac{1}{2}$ lakhs were in the Post Office alone. In the Fyzabad division, the total was 40 lakhs of which $15\frac{1}{2}$ lakhs were in the main loan and $24\frac{1}{2}$ lakhs in the Post Office loan. In this division, Gonda heads the list with 11 lakhs. These results are not adequate. I appeal to you all, gentlemen, to make a real and strenuous effort to advance largely on your previous achievements. The Maharaja Bahadur of Balrampur has set you an example by investing 20 lakhs in the war loan, realizing, as he said, what Balrampur owes to British rule. I know that many have worked hard and I do not wish to seem ungrateful to them if I ask more to work harder. In the Lucknow division, I must mention the assistance given by the Rani Sahiba of Khairigarh, Thakur Muneshwar Bakhsh Singh and Lala Ganesh Prasad. In the Fazabad division, I must mention the Maharaja Bahadur of Balrampur, Raja

Partab Bahadur Singh of Partabgarh and Raja Saiyid Abu Jafar of Pirpur. I also desire to acknowledge the hard work done by the district staff and others.

Their names will be published in due season, though they have not worked for this. Here as elsewhere I must appeal to landowners to increase the area under wheat at the approaching sowings. It is one of the ways in which they can help to win the war. The agricultural department has seeds of selected varieties and the revenue officers have received instructions to grant taqavi liberally for the purchase of seed or cattle or for irrigation. Again here, as elsewhere, I appeal to you to economize the use of coin by popularizing the use of notes and so setting free, to fight the war and develop the economic prosperity of the country, lakhs of rupees which are now wasted in buying silver for a currency that is hoarded or melted.

I should like to refer to another matter. I find that there is widespread apprehension amongst landowners at the prospect of fixity of tenure being given by law to their tenants who may enlist. A resolution to this effect was carried at one of the committee meetings on the 5th May last and a Bill was prepared. That Bill offered financial compensation to the landowners at State expense. But I never had any thought of forcing this Bill through against the wishes of the landowners. A measure like this which had not the support of the landowners would remain very much a dead-letter and would only prejudice recruiting. In some cases the prospect of it has already prejudiced recruiting by stimulating landlords to buy recruits off other estates in order to avoid the possibility of the accrual of tenancy rights against their will on their own estates. The landowners of the United Provinces are the most loyal and influential body in the province. They are always ready to help the Government. We rely on them to help us and they are helping us in recruiting and all war work. I do not therefore propose to press the proposal. Let us see what we can do without it. One thing I must urge upon you not to compete with one another to buy recruits. This is a bad practice which must be stopped.

My object on this tour, apart from stimulating war work, is to assist in creating an atmosphere of hope and friendly co-operation. I believe the time is propitious. Europeans and Indians of all classes have fought side by side on many battle-

fields. They have gone together through the strain of war. They have mourned together the brave men who have laid down their lives, or suffered, for us. The times have no doubt been trying. Wild rumours have been put into circulation. The example of Russia has shaken the general sense of security which prevailed before. My Moslem friends by no fault of their own or of the British Government have been placed in a position of trial, but they have stood staunchly by the empire. And so, with rare exceptions, have the people of this province. All this ought to draw us together and make us feel a community of interests, a common feeling of imperial relationship, a greater sense of civic duty, a more complete realization of the difficulties of administration and the advantages of British rule. Many leading men in the province are anxious to enrol themselves in some form of civic guard in order that they may play their part in the maintenance of public order. Surely at a time like this and with reforms in sight we ought to be able to build up a new and an abiding spirit of co-operation.

I spoke at Agra of the imperial idea, of its prospects, its potentialities, its hopes for India. Real co-operation must rest on faith in the empire. Have you got faith in the empire? I confess that I do not see enough of it. This is perhaps not surprising. Patriotism there is, both local and provincial. In all countries intensive forms of patriotism are local. They centre on and voice devotion to a comparatively small area ; it may be the town or the district, the hills or the riverside where one is born, the school where one is taught or the place where one has worshipped. But over and above this intensive local patriotism there grows up a feeling of unity over a larger area. And so provincial patriotism has begun to play a part in the evolution of national life in India. We have all this provincial patriotism since the war broke out. Let us build on local and provincial patriotism a real rising feeling for an empire which rests on and stands for material security. I appeal to you to cultivate and spread faith in the empire.

Am I wrong in thinking that there will be more faith in empire if there is more general appreciation of the meaning of sea-power and wealth, and of the meaning of America's intervention in the war? I cannot this afternoon prove or set forth the influence of sea-power in history. You will find the work brilliantly done by the late Captain Mahan. I will cite only one historical parallel. Take the position of Great Britain

a little more than a hundred years ago. After Austerlitz (1805) and Friedland (1807) Great Britain stood alone against the continental system of Napoleon. Russia had deserted us. America was suspicious, even hostile. Never in our history had the outlook been more gloomy. We were literally alone. There was none to help us. Yet the sea-power of England pulled us through and wore down the strength of Napoleon's continental system. History repeats itself but with a difference. The outlook in this war has never been anything like so bad as it was in 1807. And this is the great difference. The whole civilized world is on our side. Think what sea-power and wealth has meant in this war! We have mopped up the enemy's colonies. We have swept the enemy's commerce off the seas. We have transported and maintained huge armies far from their country of origin. For a time, indeed, submarines disturbed our supremacy. We were not ready for them. But that menace is nearly over. We are now destroying submarines faster than the enemy submarines can build them ; and we are building ships faster than the enemy submarines can destroy them. In the last few months more than a million men have been conveyed from America to France, that enormous distance by sea. The Germans never thought this possible. What greater proof can there be than this of the influence of sea-power and of wealth ?

The might and the resources of America are little known in India. Russia has long been known. The bug-bear of Russian invasion has long hung like a cloud over the imagination of India. Russia bestrode two continents like a colossus. It seems to overhang both Europe and Asia. It stood for vastness of territory and power. "Countless as the hosts of Russia" was a phrase often heard by me twenty-five years and more ago from Indian lips. Russia has fallen. Russia may revive. Russia may rise again. The revolution is young as yet. It took seven years for the French revolution to throw up Napoleon. But Russia has fallen and for the time has fallen low. This fall has profoundly affected Asia. But note this also. America has come in. America has over 102 million inhabitants, while all the Russians have only 173½ millions. America has free institutions, high modern ideals, rich resources in raw material, vast financial resources and wonderful inventive brain-power. All that goes to make modern progress is endemic and impetuous in America.

Russia has been struggling in vain for generations for a sea-board. America lies between the two greatest oceans of the world. Here in India we are struggling to raise half a million men for the Army. In a few months America trains and transports millions. I need not refer to the all-important financial assistance that America has given to the Allies—her influence on the blockade in the North Sea, her navy, her shipping, her railway material, her engineering skill, her munitions, and all her other output since the war. I have paid many tributes to the assistance given to the Government out here by the Americans in Burma and India. I am glad to see some of our American friends here to-day. I have just had an offer of help from the whole staff of the American College here. "Give us some war-work to do" they all are asking. I thank them and I say on behalf of this great province of Hindustan—we have read of the glorious achievements of American arms on the great battle-fields of the West with admiration and pride in our great Allies. Think of America, all ye who are of little faith! Have faith in the empire and all that it and the Allies stand for.

One word more. Only in the empire, through faith in the empire, can India achieve a sense of unity. Coming back to the province I find the lines of cleavage between communities deeper still than they were ten years ago. I do not want to dwell on this; but I cannot ignore the fact. Let us work together quietly to build up a common platform and a common outlook on a sense of broad imperial community of interests. Then, there is the vexed question of social relations between Europeans and Indians. Faith in the empire, imperial feeling will help to improve these. There has been great advance during the last 20 years in the social relations between Europeans and Indians, but there is room for greater advance now. Lucknow has been more fortunate, perhaps, in this respect than other cities of the province. Lucknow may be called the social capital of the province as Cawnpore is the industrial and Allahabad the intellectual capital. May we not hope that from Lucknow, and indeed from other cities, larger ideas of social unity may overspread the province in ever-widening eddies? Social fusion based on faith in the empire will carry us a long way forward. We need action at the present time: practice not preaching. We need multiplication of points of contact, of co-operation, of combined power. The more we are all thrown together in common work the better will it be for all.

I never tire of the old allegory of the man in the mist on the mountain side, who saw a figure in the distance ; and first he thought it was a monster, and when he came nearer to it he found it was a man, and when he came up to it he found it was his brother. Twelve years ago I wrote a pamphlet on Oudh—"The Policy of Sympathy"—the enthusiasms of which have lately been cited at me, and still I do not think them altogether callow. I believed then in the combination and integration of the Europeans and Indians in India. I then wrote :—

" And it is Lucknow, the beautiful evergreen city, the most European of Indian cities and yet most Indian, the home and temple of the aristocratic policy, the happy meeting-ground of old and new, that the grand work of integration seems destined to begin. In the shadow of the shot-ridden but proud and unconquerable old Residency, where English and loyal Indians fighting side by side have won imperishable renown ; by the grave of Sir Henry Lawrence, from whose company none ever rose without a loftier view of Indian character, the seeds of coalition will find congenial soil. The visitor to the Residency, who muses on the past and the future, may note that upon the spot where the enemy's assault was hottest twin hospitals for Europeans and Indians have been erected by Oudh's premier taluqdar, the Maharaja of Balrampur ; and as the sun sets over the great city, lingering a while on the trim lawns and battered walls which link the present with the past, a strong hope may come to him, like a distant call to prayer, that old wounds may soon be healed, and old causes of disunion may disappear, and that Englishmen and Indians, knit together by loyalty to their beloved Sovereign, may be as brothers before the altar of the empire, bearing the empire's burden, and sharing its inestimable privileges, and, it may be, adding something not yet seen or dreamt of to its world-wide and weather-beaten fame."

Gentlemen, that is no wreck of forgotten delirium. It is my faith. The years have not dimmed my enthusiasm nor undermined my hope. Have faith in the Empire !

Public Meeting at Cawnpore, 2nd August, 1918.

GENTLEMEN,

This meeting is a war loan meeting and not a recruiting meeting. By an accident invitations were issued for a recruiting meeting, but we are not recruiting in Cawnpore and I am considering how assistance can best be given to make good the shortage of labour which, partly owing to sickness and partly owing to other causes, including no doubt recruitment outside, amounts to 5,000 hands. The war loan, and the war loan only, will occupy our attention this afternoon. On the occasion of the last war loan, Cawnpore did well. Cawnpore subscribed over one crore. Up-to-date, according to the latest figures that I have received, the investments promised amount to close on 88 lakhs, and I am assured by those who are working hard in this good cause that Cawnpore will not drop below a crore. I do not think that I need make any special appeal to Cawnpore. Cawnpore is proud, and justly proud, of its traditions, of its place in the sun, of its expansive energies, and its large sympathies. We have working for us men like Sir Logie Watson, the Hon'ble Mr. Smith, Mr. Lapraik, not to mention that veteran in well-doing as in business—Sir Alexander McRobert—who is with us in spirit this afternoon and who is leading the good cause. But there is one point that I must bring out and it is this : of the 88 lakhs promised close on 50 lakhs have been paid in by Europeans, while only one lakh has been paid in by Indians. The sums promised are—by Europeans, 32 lakhs and by Indians, $2\frac{1}{2}$ lakhs. In addition the municipal board has promised to invest two lakhs and half a lakh has come from unknown subscribers. The landowners are doing well. It is the traders who are backward. I appeal to the Indian business men of Cawnpore, where many have shared in the prosperity of the last year or two, not to hang back, to come forward and to do their share for the credit of the town and of the province. No class has benefited more from British rule than the class engaged in business. As the posters in your streets say—"Awake, arise and stop not," and also "Combine good business with good patriotism." I trust that this appeal of mine will be promptly answered and that the Indians of Cawnpore will come forward with large investments in this loan.

In going round the province I have been emphasizing the elements of hopefulness which I find in the general situation on my return to the province after an absence of ten years. In this great industrial centre where some 30,000 Indian hands are employed it is natural that I should look around for the signs of industrial growth in the province. One of the far-reaching effects of this war will be its influence on the industries of India. I saw the other day an attack on the Government of India that it had neglected the industries of the country. I will not say that the industries of the country have been developed or assisted as much as was possible. I am ready to admit that there may be some foundation for the attack, but I should like to point out that it is not the Government of India that is responsible for the attitude taken up in the past ; it has been the Home Government, especially during the memorable term of office of Lord Morley. Whatever may have been the attitude of the Government of India in the past it is at present beyond reproach. An Industrial Commission will soon make its recommendations which will guide our activities for some years to come. There is no part of the able report of the Secretary of State and the Viceroy on the Reforms Scheme that has met with more unqualified approval than that relating to the industrial and economic development of India. The Secretary of State has spoken out clearly and confidently only a day or two ago at Cambridge. Already India is becoming much more self-supporting in essential matters. Already the trade which formerly went to enemy countries has been absorbed in the empire or amongst the Allies and a great future has opened up to India in the industrial line. I will not weary you on a hot afternoon with a mass of statistics. You will find much valuable information in that excellent little volume, "The Indian Munitions Board Hand-Book," which was published in 1917 and is already, I believe, out of date, so great and rapid has been the advance. You will find much information also in Mr. Shirras' illuminating reports. I will only say a few words on the general outlook in this province.

We have no coal or iron or other mineral deposits that we know of. We cannot, therefore, expect to make great advance in engineering or such lines. But we are rich in raw material and forest resources and we may expect the manufacture will move closer in course of time to the sources of raw material. We are the largest sugar-growing province in India and we

grow an enormous quantity of oil-seeds. The future of cotton is hopeful. We have a large and steady supply of hides and skins. The tanning and leather industry is capable of considerable development. Timber is available in large quantities and there is ample scope for the extraction of wood-pulp. The Agricultural department, the Forest department, and the Department of Industries are working hand in hand to improve the supply of raw material and to indicate by experiments the possibility of manufacture on an industrial scale. Knowing that my friend Sir Logie Watson shared my optimism, or, I should prefer to call it, reasoned hopefulness, I asked him to let me have some notes on the industrial opportunities of the province to-day. "There is already," he writes, "abundant indication that the optimist will be justified. In some of the industries which now, in Cawnpore, are proving themselves so invaluable to Government in the manufacture of war supplies there must, on the cessation of war, follow a period of depression, but this will, I believe, be merely a depression, when compared with the present time of stress and rush, of incessant work and constant shifts. That there will be any 'slump' as compared with pre-war days, I cannot believe. Other causes, such as the need for enormous overhaul and even wholesale renewal of our railways, may influence the movement of manufactured goods, as to-day the need for priority in Government supplies does influence it, but organisation and combination will remedy that and it is hoped that our railways will by then have got so used to combination of effort that the remedy will be easily and swiftly applied. But the real expansion of our provincial industries will not, I think, come in the main lines of our great master industries of to-day, but in the introduction of remunerative side-lines in these, in the establishment of other industries, subsidiary and yet essential to the master industries, and their off-shoots and, above all, in the creation of new industries to supply those commodities which, with the coming of war conditions, the supply from abroad failed us so completely." And first among the various classes of industries he puts that which may be taken within the wide fold of chemistry. Except for the manufacture of saltpetre, we have no indigenous chemical production. Experiments in the Forest department, however, suggest that acetic acid can be produced in large quantities and that oxalate of lime and oxalic acid can be won in a heavy percentage from waste forest products. The

manufacture of bichromates has also been eminently successful and development is only a matter of time, although the raw material is far from our borders. An experiment in the production of carbonate of soda promises well. The Forest department are about to make an experiment in the manufacture of bobbins. The Government may take credit to itself for successful improvements in the manufacture of glass. In drugs, essential oils and other articles more of interest to the pharmacist than to the industrialist we have immense natural resources and we must find the capitalists and the experts to establish many small but lucrative industries. The improvement of our chemical production will make possible the extension into these provinces of the wide field that exists for the manufacture of light chrome leather and in particular of glace kid.

I have given a brief abstract of Sir Logie Watson's interesting and valuable notes and I will now quote the passage in which he concludes them. He says : "I have said sufficient, I think, to lead you with me to optimism as to our industrial outlook, and I can only impress on you in conclusion that confidence and courage and, above all, self-help and self-reliance must be our guiding principles if we are to succeed. Government is doing, and will do, all that is proper to a Government to educate and encourage and, where necessary, even assist with concessions and finance, but the industries that have really succeeded in the past have in the main done so when to capital was added knowledge, supervision, and economy and these advantages are beyond the gift of Government."

All this is encouraging and bids well for the future of the country and the province. In particular we must develop agriculture. But we shall never reap the advantage of our opportunities or of any efforts which individuals may apply to them unless we improve and develop our educational system and specially spread practical, industrial and technical education. This is the master thing. My Government is already preparing schemes. I hope that there will be great progress after the war. The importance of industrial progress cannot be over-rated. My wisest Indian friends have told me for some years past that the real sources of unrest in India have been more economic than political. I am far from under-rating the importance of political progress, but for my part I would prefer to see an increase in material prosperity. This in itself will doubtless lead to further and sounder political progress in the

future. In this connection I would like to quote the eloquent words of His Excellency the Viceroy in his speech at Delhi on the 6th February 1918: "No reforms in India will achieve their purpose unless they have their counterpart in the industrial sphere. A great industrial advance, re-acting strongly on social and educational conditions is, I am convinced, a condition precedent to the development of healthy political life in this country." These are weighty words and I ask you to ponder them well.

I will end as I began by urging you once more to strain every nerve in order that Cawnpore may do its very utmost for the war loan.

Public Meeting at Allahabad, 5th August, 1918.

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,

I am very glad to meet you. I have several things to say to you. I will begin with recruiting and war loan work. I cannot regard the divisional figures as satisfactory. During the year ending the 30th June last, you recruited only 6,641 combatants against a demand of 15,000. In no district was recruitment so short as in Allahabad, where only 622 combatants were enlisted as against a demand of 2,500—less than one-quarter of the demand. Etawah heads the list with 2,060 out of 2,700. Farrukhabad comes next with 2,080 out of 4,000. Cawnpore produced 1,149 out of 3,400, and Fatehpur 730 only out of a demand of 3,400. The second half-year showed a marked improvement over the first half-year, the divisional totals being 3,987 and 2,764 respectively. But fresh and special efforts are necessary. The division started with considerable military connection at the begining of the war and the results must be improved.

In the last war loan the division did well on the whole. Cawnpore stands first in the province and Allahabad second, the figures being 106 and 59 lakhs, respectively. Altogether the division invested 180 lakhs in the war loan. The large response of Cawnpore is mainly due to the patriotic action of the big European firms and I am glad to have an assurance from them that Cawnpore is determined to maintain its place in the provincial and indeed in the all-India list. Farrukhabad with $6\frac{1}{2}$ lakhs, Etawah with $3\frac{3}{4}$ lakhs and Fatehpur with $4\frac{1}{2}$ lakhs leave much to be desired. The figure for Allahabad was swollen by subscriptions from banks from outlying districts. I am told that the outlying districts are investing little in the new loan. I appeal to you all to make a real strenuous effort to meet the demands upon you. The Indian trading classes must come forward. No class will gain more from the peace for which we are fighting. There is no reason why they should not invest. The war is going well. The German offensive has failed. A counter-offensive by the Allies in certain parts of the western front has begun. Those who lost heart two or three months ago are reviving their spirits now. I read in the "Pioneer" of the 6th an interesting letter showing that war

loans were a pious duty of Hindus five thousand years ago. I need not tell you for what we are fighting. I need not remind you of the interest which India has in the result of the war. I simply appeal to you as loyal citizens to redouble your efforts and to remove the reproach which unfortunately rests on your division. You are the sadr division of the Province of Agra. It is for you now to show by your deeds, and not merely by words, what value can be attached to the public spirit, the patriotism, and the loyalty of the Allahabad division. I doubt not that you will vindicate your position in the eyes of the province. I beg you to do so without delay.

Although the results are disappointing at present, Sir John Campbell will, I hope, be able to give you encouraging recent figures from other parts of the province and especially from Gorakhpur. Persistent good work is bearing fruit. I wish to acknowledge the good work done by the district staff and a large number of individuals. I will only mention here Sir Logie Watson, who has done and is doing splendid work at Cawnpore, the Raja of Banda, Raja Bhalbhadr Singh of Roora, and Babu Madho Prasad of Allahabad. All these have done exceptionally well. A list of others who have served will be published on another occasion.

Turning now to other topics, I have a few words to say about the reception of the reforms in the province. I said to you at Meerut that I was confident that you would give the scheme the fairest possible consideration and I can say now, after visiting Meerut, Agra, Lucknow, Jhansi, Cawnpore and Allahabad, that my confidence has been justified. In the United Provinces there is a general desire to give the scheme most fair and favourable consideration. I must have seen some 200 gentlemen with local influence in the course of the last three and a half weeks' tour. The landowners are the backbone of the province and their opinion is in favour of moderate progress provided they have fuller representation for themselves. Some of them do not conceal from me that in their opinion the reforms go too far. No one will rejoice more than I if the landowners will bestir themselves and take their proper place in the public life of the province. Unless they do this there will be no real representative government, for a most important community will not be fully represented. The great majority of other classes seems to desire that the scheme should be accepted in principle though modified in detail. A weighty manifesto in favour of

the reforms has been signed by Dr. Tej Bahadur Sapru and others prominent in politics. It is still early to say how public opinion will finally express itself on some details. But I think that we shall all agree that, as a whole, the reforms scheme has been well received in this province. I may say that it has been better received than my Indian friends had led me to expect. Indeed many visitors have resented strongly the suggestion put forward by one or two persons, not belonging to this province, that loyal India should try to squeeze further concessions out of Government by agitation. The non-official members of my Council will have an opportunity of discussing the whole question on the 12th instant. At present the position is this. The reforms have been well received. No other scheme is in the field.

My object is to bring all classes of the province together as far as possible and I am therefore particularly anxious to say nothing which may cause offence. But may I ask you, as a well-wisher of many years' service, first, to be guided by your heads and not your hearts, secondly, to view the problem—an infinitely difficult problem—from the point of view of the practical statesman and man of the world, and thirdly, to remember that political power is rarely placed the same on paper and in practice and that no constitution can in the long run give more real power than the people concerned are fit to exercise. It is men not measures who move the world.

The reflection leads me to another train of thought, wider and more general than the scheme of reforms. What will be our attitude and outlook towards old questions and new after the war? No one living can foresee what post-war conditions will be, what influences will prevail; but this much is certain that we shall have to shake up all our old ideas and begin afresh. Nothing will ever be the same again. We have crossed the watershed and are looking down on new plains below. The old oracles are dumb. The old shibboleths are no more heard. Ideals, constitutions, rooted ideas are being shovelled away without argument or comment or memorial. We shall have to probe into the meaning of old familiar labels, to strip catch-words, as I have said, and to get at the real meaning of things underneath. Nothing will escape enquiry by minds that have cut themselves away from their moorings and have no object before them but to improve the material conditions under which men live. We are in for a time when the opinions of individuals will

count for little. In future we shall probably be guided more and more by groups of energetic, searching and hard-headed men. India is a generation or two behind England. We still educate Young India on lines that were discarded in England 20 or 30 years ago. But India will be swept into the vortex of the great economic transformation which is bound to come after war ; and India cannot now afford to be a generation or two behind the time. We have got to shake ourselves free from the trammels of old traditions, old ideas, old habits, or, as surely as I stand here this afternoon, we shall be swept off our feet and carried away by forces that we can neither foresee nor control.

How are we to face this flood of new ideas, economic and social, that is coming on us ? First, we must reorganize our administrative machinery ; secondly, we must revolutionize our educational system.

Our administrative machine belongs to another age. It is top-heavy. Its movements are cumbrous, slow, deliberate. It rejoices in delay. It grew up when time was no object, when no one wanted change, when financial economy was the ruling passion of Governments, imperial and provincial. Now there are the stirrings of young national life, and economic spring-time, a time calling for despatch, quick response, bold experiment. Secretariats with enormous offices overhang the administration. An eminent ecclesiastic once told me that Rome had by centuries of experience reduced delay to a science ; he used to think her mistress of postponement and procrastination. But the Government of India beat Rome every time. Only ecclesiastics could dare so to speak of the Government of India. I for one will not lay audacious hands on the chariot of the sun. But take our own province, when we have a Governor in Council. Is every proposal from an overworked and under-staffed office to run the gauntlet of the huge offices of the Board of Revenue and the Secretariat ? Some 25 years ago, when I was Junior Secretary to the Board, I helped Mr. J. R. Reid, the greatest Member of the Board in my time, to work out a proposal for turning the Board into an Executive Council. Great bodies disappear slowly; but we shall have soon to consider whether the Board should remain except as a judicial body. This and other problems of reorganization will have to come under review. In any case we must decentralize and give larger powers to Commissioners. One proposal that has, I believe, considerable support in this province, is that there should be divisional local self-

government boards. Then, again, we must reorganize work so as to get quick decisions. Swift decision and prompt execution are the note of living administration. I have already to some extent put a stop to the practice of calling for hundreds of opinions from people who have no practical experience or are not experts in the matter under discussion. We must introduce new, modern, swift methods of business. We must make a determined effort to cut down red tape, and break up the grooves of routine. It was Turgot who said, "It is not error so much that opposes the progress of truth, but indolence, indifference, the spirit of routine—all that favours inaction." No one realizes more than I do how hard it is to speed up an administrative machine. But it can be done, it has been done. And what has been done elsewhere can certainly be done here. My officers will, I know, help in this whole-heartedly.

Then as regards education. We must try to give the sons and daughters of India as good an education as we have had ourselves, otherwise they will not be fairly equipped for the great economic struggle of the future. We have to think of education on a totally different scale than its present scale. Our policy is good enough so far as it goes. No country in the world is satisfied with its education system. Too much is expected from education. There are limits to what you can take out that nature has put in and to what you can put in that nature has left out. Also students are not ready to learn what others want to teach. But education can do much and India must have the best education that she can get. I will only educate what seems to me the most vital reform that is necessary in education. We must infuse new life and new spirit into the whole education machine and this can only be done if we send young Indians literally in hundreds to be trained in England and elsewhere in the latest ideas and methods of education, men who in their turn will teach the younger generation the best that Europe can give them. Only so can we hope to infuse new life into the system of education in India.

This of course will be a very expensive reform; but I do not shrink from expenditure on education. Expenditure on the development of a nation has the first claim on a nation's finances and on its credit. If the war has taught us one thing, it has, I hope, taught us to cut adrift from the cramping traditions of Victorian finance. When the nations of the world have relied on loans to spend many millions sterling a day on destruction,

who in future will be able to get up and say that education and other works of development cannot ever be financed by loan? Why should there be objection to financing development by loan in cases where a business man would face capital expenditure provided always that interest and sinking fund for the redemption of debt can be met from revenue? I doubt if we can make a big move forward without relying on loans. I was present this morning at a meeting of the publicity bureau. I take this opportunity of congratulating Sir John Campbell and his colleagues on the excellent start they have made. It was a novel undertaking and a lot of preliminary spade-work was necessary. Now things are going well. I especially congratulate Dr. Garfield Williams and his assistant on the success of the War Journal. Busy men of all classes of political opinion have given us of their best. On behalf of the Government I thank them. The work that they are doing now will have far-reaching effects long after the war and may become a potent instrument of popular education.

One word more. I want you here to use all your influence to prevent those unfortunate outbreaks of religious feelings which do so much to delay progress. The subject is a delicate one. It has been obtrusive to me on my present tour. I believe that there is genuine gratitude towards the British Government for having given India a chance of growing up to national life. We cannot blind ourselves to facts, but we can each of us in our own sphere do something to lessen the differences which must obstruct and may strangle new-born hopes. The cumulative effects of such efforts may in time be very great. Let us so work year in and year out that the United Provinces be united in real truth and not only in name.

Public Meeting at Benares, 8th August, 1918.

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,

I am glad to meet you here this afternoon in order to discuss with you the important questions of recruiting and war loan. I cannot congratulate you on its achievements hitherto.

First as regards the Benares division. It is true that Ballia and Ghazipur were the only two districts with any previous military connection, that they have both done very well and have exceeded the original demands for the year. In the other three districts the response has been extremely feeble, although Benares is now showing signs of life. For the whole division the demand for combatants for the year ending the 30th June last was 5,040, of which 4,296 were actually recruited. Ballia recruited 1,901 against a demand of 1,500. Ghazipur recruited 1,609 against a demand of 1,200. But Benares recruited only 351 against a demand of 720. Jaunpur recruited 269 against a demand of 900 and Mirzapur only 166 against a demand of 720. I must ask the last three districts to make very special efforts to redeem their position.

In the last war loan the investments amounted to 38 lakhs, of which 23 lakhs were in the main loan and 15 lakhs in the Post Office loan. Benares did well with $17\frac{1}{2}$ lakhs, Mirzapur came next with $8\frac{3}{4}$ lakhs, Ghazipur with $5\frac{1}{2}$ lakhs and Jaunpur with $4\frac{3}{4}$ lakhs. Benares did fairly well and Mirzapur not badly but the results in the other districts were poor. The figures that I have received for this year are meagre but may be incomplete. Here, again, I must ask you to redouble your efforts. You have now had good rain and other prospects are good. I want to impress upon you individually and collectively that your reputation is at stake.

The Gorakhpur division has no military connection or traditions, except in Azamgarh to some extent, but the people are not unused to leave the province in search of employment. The division has at last, however, made a start. During the year ending 30th June last only 2,353 combatants were recruited against a demand of 4,500, but later figures show a marked improvement. In July 771 combatants were recruited in Gorakhpur alone. Including 446 non-combatants and 400 railway coolies for overseas work, no fewer than 1,500

men were recruited in the Gorakhpur district in one month—a result very creditable to all concerned and especially to Captain Dean, Assistant Recruiting Officer. I have, indeed, just heard that Gorakhpur district has recruited 1,500 combatants in 100 days. I congratulate Mr. Gracey on this result to which his energy largely contributed. In Azamgarh 210 combatants were produced and the Commissioner has written to say that he thinks that he can with confidence guarantee that the division as a whole will largely exceed its allotted number of combatants for the year. This is satisfactory. I hope you will not relax your efforts and will win a high place in the eyes of the province for your division.

In the last war loan 33 lakhs were raised, of which 14 lakhs were in the main loan and 19 in the Post Office section. These figures were not satisfactory in view of the population and wealth of the division. A poor start has been made this year. The latest returns, however, are more encouraging and I have just heard of a meeting at Azamgarh where 3 lakhs and 31 thousand were promised.

Although the results have not been satisfactory, much hard work has been put in. I thank the district staff and all engaged in the work in both divisions and especially I wish to bring to notice one or two names. In the Benares division I would mention the Hon'ble Raja Moti Chand, Mr. H. Branford of Mirzapur and Khan Sahib Mustafa Khan, who did admirable work in raising the Branford Bandalmans corps of over 800 strong under considerable difficulties. Rai Salig Ram Bahadur of Ghazipur has also been indefatigable as propagandist author and war worker. In the Gorakhpur division I would mention Rai Nageshwar Prasad Singh Bahadur of Basti, 2nd-Lieutenant Rai Bahadur Sahibzada Ravi Partap Narayan Singh and Raja Baraj Narayan Rao of Padrauna. Mr. Gracey reports, as an illustration of how Indian officials can help, that the Nazir of his office, Pandit Sada Shiv Pande, has succeeded in securing 31 combatant and 18 non-combatant recruits, working during week-ends and holidays. This is the right spirit, and so was the example of Pandit Paras Nath Duivedi of Shamsabad, Azamgarh, who though he has been reading for his B. A. has enlisted as a sepoy.

Here as elsewhere I find that the trading classes generally are backward in investment in the war loan. This is not as it should be. On no class has the British Government claim for

more support at such a time. A special appeal must be made to them to do their duty and prove their loyalty by their acts.

Again, I must ask you all to use your influence to popularize the use of currency notes. As I have said before, the use of paper money is almost a mark of civilization. Ever since the war it has been practised throughout the civilized world and nowhere more than in Japan, where notes of very small issue are freely current. Currency notes are legal payment for private debts and are accepted at their full value by Government. It is very expensive to purchase silver abroad owing to its high price, when this silver is either melted down or hoarded in India thus necessitating further purchases of silver at a high price. The loss over the transaction is obvious. A friend of mine has calculated it at present at something like 2½ crores a year. Be that as it may, it is a large sum and this sum if saved could be well spent for the time being on the war and later on in the development of the country or at any time by reducing to this amount the sum necessary to be raised by additional taxation. It is a really important patriotic duty to encourage economy in the use of coin at any time and especially in time of war.

I turn now to other matters, and first I will mention the report of the Rowlatt Committee. That report is one of the most interesting and important documents that has been issued of late years. It is the unanimous report of an absolutely impartial body of men presided over by a very distinguished Judge of the King's Bench division of His Majesty's High Court of Justice in England and including as its members the Hon'ble Sir Basil Scott, Chief Justice of Bombay, the Hon'ble Diwan Bahadur C. V. Kumarswami Sastri, Judge of the High Court of Madras, the Hon'ble Sir Verney Lovett, Member of the Board of Revenue, United Provinces, and the Hon'ble Mr. P. C. Mitter, Additional Member of the Bengal Legislative Council. This powerful commission has shown in language of studied moderation how wide and extensive have been the conspiracies directed to subvert British rule in India by anarchical methods including open incitements to revolt, assassination and rapine. It proves beyond a shadow of doubt how these movements were directly inspired and financed by the enemy with whom we are at war. Never has there been a more complete vindication of the action of the executive in

dealing with these conspiracies. Never has a more eloquent tribute been paid to the difficulties with which the police in this country have had to contend and of the splendid manner in which these difficulties have been surmounted. But for that successful action there could have been little prospect of a reforms policy now. Just imagine what would have been the state of bloodshed if it had come to a question of open repression.

The record in the United Provinces is not a bad one. The section dealing with these provinces occupies only four out of the 152 pages of the report. Of these four pages the greater part is devoted to the Benares conspiracy case. The Committee conclude their examination of this case by saying "Of the Benares convicts only one belonged by race to the United Provinces. Most were Bengalis and all were Hindus. Reviewing the whole circumstances of the case, it may be said that the associates, receiving their original inspiration from Bengal, gradually become corrupted until, under the direction of Rash Behari, they formed an important link in the chain of a big revolutionary plot which came within an ace of causing wide-spread bloodshed at a highly critical time." By co-operation between the schools and the Education department the contaminating influences have been removed and I hope that we shall not have any further conspiracy cases in this province. I earnestly trust that by co-operation of all concerned we shall avoid and prevent such dangerous and discreditable incidents in future. Surely all must now be impressed with the extreme necessity for keeping educational institutions free of evil political influences, and in the case of individuals for exercising great care in the choice of associates. Many have been led away in the past by negligence in these respects.

And now I should like to say a few words about Benares, the ancient city to which pious Hindus go up to worship and to die. First I must mention the Ruler of the Benares State, my old and valued friend His Highness the Maharaja of Benares who is endeared to you by tradition and personal merit. The Maharaja has been foremost in offering his services in men and money and on behalf of the Government I thank him for his loyalty and his generosity. And now I turn to Benares itself which for me has always a peculiar fascination and charm. It is perhaps appropriate that the last of a series of speeches, in which I have endeavoured to arrest the attention

and the interest of the educated people in the province in some of our present and impending problems, should be delivered at perhaps the most conservative place in India. At Cawnpore I dwelt on the prospects of wide agricultural and industrial development. At Allahabad I urged the speeding up of the administrative machine and the vitalizing of our education system. As I floated last night once more down the ghats of Benares I reflected that here at least was a locality very little influenced by the movements of the day, very little troubled by any striving after material progress. And then I looked upstream to the site of the Hindu University. There will soon be seen colleges and halls, play-grounds, temples, workshops, laboratories equipped with the latest output of modern science, and all the signs of busy life, the coming and going of students and professors, in worship, in study and in recreation, the realization of high ideals of imperial citizenship and Indian spirituality. Here I thought are faith and hope side by side, and faith and hope are what we most need at the present time.

H. E.'s speech at the inauguration of the new United Provinces Legislative Council at Lucknow on January 22nd, 1921.

You have one and all sworn that you will be faithful and bear true allegiance to H. M. the King-Emperor of India, his heirs and successors, and that you will faithfully discharge the duty upon which you are about to enter. I know this oath of allegiance is no mere form, that it comes straight from your hearts, for nowhere in the British Empire has H. M. the King-Emperor more loyal and faithful subjects than in the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh. On this solemn occasion when we are inaugurating a new form of popular Government on Western lines, we are drawn in thought and loyal submission nearer than ever to the Throne. In this Province the political concessions of His Majesty's Government have, on the whole, been received in the spirit in which they were made, a spirit of confidence and trust and hope for the future. Opposition there has been. Great efforts have been made to draw away young men from schools and colleges, and to induce professional men to give up their careers. Great efforts have been made to prevent voters from going to the polls. But these efforts have met with little success. The elections have undoubtedly given the Province a really representative Legislative Council. Over 3 lakhs of voters went to the polls and in the 20 most contested elections 40 to 70 per cent of the whole electorate came to the poll. We may claim that these results augur well for the future.

The chief opponents of the Reforms have shown by word and act that their aim is not the ordered development of political institutions in India, but the expulsion of Western civilization from India, a course involving the reversion to the conditions of disorder, lawlessness and internecine strife such as prevailed in the unsettled times before the advent of British Rule. I ask you to ponder these things deeply.

The broad issue is, do you want progress on peaceful rational lines or do you not? Progress on peaceful rational lines can only be secured by respect for law. We must not exaggerate, but we cannot ignore recent events. The masses are quite, but ignorant and soon get out of control. Agitation soon passes—it has passed—the limits of public safety within which alone any Government is justified in tolerating it. Disorder falls in the end

on innocent and guilty alike. The Government can, of course, quell the forces of disorder, but that is a negative for a positive progress. It must have the support of public opinion. That opinion, I know, is sound, but it must boldly express itself in all the ways that are open to it. A great responsibility therefore rests on you. Remembering how the Province has stood firm under many shocks, I have great confidence, gentlemen, in you.

I ask you to await the proposals of this Government to amend the Oudh Rent Act. The revision of this Act, now 34 years old, has been for some time considered, but as in the case of the revision of the Tenancy Act of the Province of Agra, it was decided that revision must be suspended until the war was over and the Reformed Government was constituted. This decision was hardly avoidable, but I have never concealed my opinion that the revision of the Oudh Rent Act would have to be taken up by the Reformed Government at an early date. Indeed on the 20th December last I urged on Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, as a public man outside the agitation, the importance of checking the propaganda amongst the Oudh tenantry, because, falling on ignorant men who had grievances, it could only result in agrarian trouble, and probably lead to bloodshed. I told him that the first question that the new Government would take up would be the revision of the Oudh Rent Act.

Events moved all too quickly. The tenantry were widely stirred up, the criminal classes took advantage of the occasion, and serious trouble ensued in which there was regrettable loss of life. A full report on the Rae Bareli disturbances will be published within a few days. It was fortunately possible to restore order without calling in military aid from outside, and for this I have already congratulated the local authorities and others concerned. In view of grossly misleading statements I may say that all reports from both Rae Bareli and Fyzabad indicate that the tenantry are actuated by no hostility to Government or to Europeans. The agitators have endeavoured to stir up such hostility, but the tenantry have taken interest only in their own grievances against the landlords.

Mr. J. A. St. John Farnon, M.A., Assistant Opium Agent, who has been touring in the affected tracts of Rae Bareli, assures the Commissioner that a European can camp there alone quite safely. It is still necessary to protect some landlords, but I hope that this will soon pass. It has been made generally known that the Oudh Rent Act will be revised, and I have sent a message

throughout the Province as an old friend of both the landlords and tenants urging them to avoid all action likely to cause a breach of the peace, and to trust the Government to do justice.

The difficulties of the problem are in fact social and economical rather than political. An intense demand for land due to increase in population, and an enormous rise in prices constitute a heavy burden on the tenantry. Abuses have also crept in between landlords and low caste tenants, owing to the inelasticity of the existing law. The wealthy landlords of Oudh have always had a high reputation as generous landlords, though oppression has sometimes been perpetrated by their local agents. The idea, however, that Oudh is held by a tyrannical body of wealthy absentee landlords called Taluqdars is wholly incorrect. Not more than half the Province is owned by Taluqdars. Of the 271 Taluqdars 100 pay less than Rs. 10,000 revenue a year. Only 22 pay over one lakh of rupees a year, and only some 80 pay between a quarter of a lakh and one lakh of rupees a year. The great majority of the Taluqdars are resident in their estates.

The tenant question in Oudh has a long history behind it, and you will recognize that the revision of the Act is not a simple process and that we must proceed with due care. But I can promise you that there will be no avoidable delay in bringing this matter before the Council. Orders have been issued to prosecute for the recent disturbances only the ringleaders and those actually engaged in crime, and arrangements have been made to relieve pecuniarily and to return to their homes the tenants who had drifted at the bidding of agitators, and are now in distress. I earnestly hope that the measures taken will stop this mischievous agitation. No one would regret more than I that it should be necessary to take drastic action which from the necessities of the case must fall in the end on the innocent and guilty alike. I can claim that my Government has been patient and tolerant in times past, and the new Government is not less anxious than I am to avoid anything like repressive action. But the Government must do its duty, and one of the first duties of Government is to maintain order at all costs. I appeal to the landlords to restore direct friendly relations with their tenants as soon as possible, not relying on their agents, and I appeal to both landlords and tenants to trust to the impartiality of the Government and of this Council.

This and in other distempers of the time we can take great encouragement from the royal healing words of H. R. H. the

Duke of Connaught whose name is a household word throughout India. Let me quote them to you : " You have recently passed through a period of troubles and difficulties. Do not brood over them. Remember that there has been a terrible explosion in the world. Sparks are still flying everywhere. The events of the past few years cannot be forced into any of the accepted moulds and standards of human conduct standing here to-day. Have we not cause to be unspeakably grateful that things have not been worse, infinitely worse ? Through the clouds a bright dawn of promise is breaking over this land, and if sanity and true patriotism guide your leaders nothing can debar India from her high destiny. It is not through strife and bitterness, it is not by following paths which plainly lead to strife and bitterness, that India will maintain her course so gloriously begun. There are enough unhappy incomprehensible tragedies taking place in the world to-day without our adding to them here. Do not peer into the troubled waters in the wake of your ship, lengthen more the focus of your glasses and look ahead." Let us all nerve ourselves to act up to the high advice which H. R. H. has given us, and make fresh efforts for the public good.

The development of sound education is to my mind the master service at the present time. It opens the way to the improvement of political institutions, the advancement of public health, the spread of human happiness, and all that goes to make up progress. I commend to you before all service the service of education.

As regards your own debates, I regret that it has not been possible to make you more comfortable. But I hope that you will soon have a Council Chamber worthy of the Province. May you continue the traditions of courtesy and fair play which distinguished the Council which you have superseded. I need not dwell on the high and imperative claims of respect for freedom of speech, and respect for the dignity of your Assembly and your President. These I doubt not are fully secure. I will not ask you to be swift to hear, slow to speech, slow to wrath. But I do entreat you that you keep your debates upon a high practical level, with a due sense of responsibility, avoiding as far as possible the pitfalls of personality.

As for my Government I have chosen as colleagues without favour strong and independent men. They will have my complete confidence in all matters, and it is my desire that we should

work together, as far as possible, as one Government. As for myself I will do all that in me lies to help you to make this big venture a big success. According to my oath of office I will endeavour to do right to all manner of people after the laws and usages of India without fear, affection, or ill-will.

But I shall not be content with this, I shall endeavour to secure that we, all Europeans and Indians, work together on harmonious lines as brother-subjects of the King-Emperor, and I pray that the Reforms Scheme which we are commencing to-day will add largely and effectively to the well-being and happiness of this ancient land of Hindustan.

